

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. V.—No. L.—NEW SERIES.

FEBRUARY 1, 1850.

PRICE 5d.

THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Among the witnesses examined by the Lords' Committee to consider the best means which this country can adopt for the final extinction of the slave-trade, was Lord HOWDEN, the British Minister to Brazil. Considering the important post which his lordship occupied, and the extensive range of his observations whilst there, great value attaches to his testimony; we therefore present the principal portions of it, arranged under separate heads, for the information and use of our readers.

PRODUCTIONS OF BRAZIL.

In the northern provinces, sugar, tobacco, cotton, rice, and cocoa; the produce of the most southern province of Brazil, called Rio Grande, is in cattle and hides and tallow. Rio Grande is the finest province in the empire as to climate, and might certainly be colonised by Europeans. It formerly grew corn; but one year the crops were destroyed from some atmospherical cause, and the inhabitants took exclusively to the breeding of cattle, which, being more productive than corn, has since remained their sole occupation. Then, coming up farther to the north, there is sugar cultivation in St. Paul's, as well as coffee; then you arrive at the Rio Janeiro district, which is almost exclusively coffee, though the planting of coffee in that province does not date from much more than fifty years. Then going farther, you come up to Campos, in Espirito Santo, where there is coffee and sugar; and to Bahia, where there is sugar and tobacco, and no coffee; then you go to Pernambuco, which is also a great sugar country, and also cotton; and then, farther on, to Maranhão; there the sugar begins to decline, and rice begins, and cocoa, and that continues pretty much up to Para; in Para there is every sort of produce. The two finest provinces of Brazil are the most northern and the most southern, Para and Rio Grande. In Para, in addition to rice and cocoa, you have medicinal drugs, dyeing woods, caoutchouc in great quantities, sarsaparilla in abundance, and a number of those articles of produce which are not in either the central or southern districts of Brazil.—*Report of the Lords' Committee on the Slave-trade, 1849, p. 18.*

CONNIVANCE OF THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT AND AUTHORITIES IN RELATION TO THE SLAVE-TRADE.

If the Government of Brazil were anxious to keep its engagements with the British Government, has it the means of enforcing their performance upon its own subjects? The state of Brazil, with regard to that question, is very extraordinary; the direction of affairs there is, indirectly, almost entirely in the hands of men who are, in fact, foreigners. There are about 40,000 Portuguese there, men who are either naturalised Brazilians, or under the protection of the Portuguese flag; a great number of them were naturalised at the time of the Declaration of Independence, when they were asked the question, and nothing further, whether they chose to be Brazilians or not, and they said yes. The laws of naturalisation are very elastic there: a residence of three years and a marriage with a Brazilian woman are sufficient, by a petition to the legislature, to naturalise. These Portuguese have objects of interest and sources of profit which the Brazilians have not, and they are the only people that do anything with energy.—Do you attribute the difficulties which the Brazilian Government experience, in *bonâ fide* carrying into effect their treaties with this country respecting the slave-trade, rather to the Portuguese capitalist than to the Brazilians? Very much more.—The Government is under the influence of those people? Yes; the Government are poor, and they are rich.—Are the changes of Government more or less under the influence of the Portuguese; is it a division of party at all? They

have influence of a great many sorts; put a dozen Rothschilds together, and you will soon find how variegated is their influence; it is proportionably so in Brazil.—If the Government were really desirous to put down the importation of slaves upon that extent of coast, have they organised force to do it? It is impossible to say what an energetic will may not do, but it certainly would be difficult; first of all, it would be necessary to pay the officials, because those officials, not being paid, allow themselves to be paid by the slave-dealer in the way of fees; it is the same case exactly as that of the contraband merchandise which finds its way into Spain. Firstly, it brings enormous gains; and, secondly, those who are employed to keep it out, find it rather their interest to let it in.—Do not you suppose that if even the existing laws against the slave-trade were put in force against their own subjects, it would materially check it? No doubt.—Does anybody in Brazil believe that Government is in earnest in putting down the slave-trade? Nobody in his senses up to the present day.—pp. 26-29.

BRAZILIANS IN FAVOUR OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Is there any one part of the empire more than another where a strong feeling would exist in favour of retaining the trade? Yes, at Rio Janeiro; where the great monied interest is concentrated, and where the many commercial interests connected with the slave-trade exist.—Is not the whole landed interest in favour of the maintenance of the slave-trade? The landed proprietors are the debtors of the capitalists; and as yet have found no other means of cultivating their estates than through the agency of imported slaves.—What are their feelings with regard to the future importation of slaves? No doubt the feeling at the present moment is that, if you cannot put anything in their place, and if the climate or circumstances forbid other labour, they must have slaves. Perhaps you are aware that, sixteen or seventeen years ago, a Regent of the name of Foreijas, a courageous and enlightened priest, actually proposed not only to make slave-trade piracy, according to our conventional view of the matter, but to have affixed to it the penalty of international piracy against the *hostis humani generis* by hanging the offenders. The proposition, however, was smothered in the Council of State, in which resides, in fact, the real and permanent Government of Brazil, a body which possesses immense power, and irresponsible, too, which, by the constitution, has cognisance of all the affairs and negotiations of the country.—p. 32.

BRITISH MERCHANTS IMPLICATED WITH BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADERS.

Is the trade usually carried on by individuals who insure their cargoes, or by companies? There are companies which insure, and other companies which carry on the trade, by persons having shares in them, some of which are exceedingly small. But there are individuals of great riches and excellent repute in the money market, who carry it on entirely upon their own account and risk. It is with these persons that our merchants principally prefer dealing, from the punctuality of their payments, and the certainty of their solvency.—p. 33.

FEELING OF BRAZILIANS IN RELATION TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Is there any very strong enmity against this country, arising out of our efforts to suppress the slave-trade? I think there is an enmity against us.—Very much attributable to that? I think it is attributable to that; but it is attributable also to the tone which their indifference to their engagements has obliged us to assume towards them; they are proud and sensitive, like all the South American colonies who have lately assumed nationalities. What

renders it difficult to deal with Governments in that hemisphere is, their sensitiveness and susceptibility upon all subjects. You have no idea that you have offended them; but you find afterwards, perhaps by chance, that you have put your finger upon some sore place, and you are obliged to think afterwards upon what part of the body it has been.—Does the Act of 1845 rankle very much in their minds? It rankles not only as regards the slave-trade, but it hurts their pride, because they think they have been insulted; it is an Act that has offended their nationality, and I believe that they dislike it still more for that reason than for the obstructions it causes to the slave-trade.—p. 37.

ACTIVITY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Is there any reason, from the nature of the trade, or any other circumstance, which accounts for their not bringing them direct? There are many more facilities for landing slaves in the neighbourhood of Rio Janeiro, from the configuration of the land, and from the immediate connivance of the authorities, and from most of the great capitalists being settled there; there is an immense number of slaves brought into the vicinity of Rio, which are not meant immediately for the consumption of the province, and who are then taken north, and west, and south, to the localities where they are wanted.—p. 21.

Besides the great importation of slaves into the province of Rio, Lord Howden says, "I am assured that there are now about 15,000 slaves in Rio Grande, and five years ago I do not believe there were 500." Next to Rio, Bahia and Pernambuco take the greatest number of slaves. It is estimated that there are always from 11,000 to 12,000 slaves in Rio de Janeiro on sale.

THE SUGAR ACT OF 1846 A CAUSE OF THE INCREASE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Did you understand that there had been a great increase in the demand for slaves, in consequence of the alteration of the law with respect to the importation of sugar into this country? I have been assured that there has been a great increase in the importation of machinery connected with sugar cultivation in Brazil, in the last two or three years; that machinery comes from the United States or from England; I believe not direct from England, but it may be English machinery coming through the United States; I have been assured that there was a considerable increase in the machinery connected with sugar cultivation imported in 1847.—Slaves being an essential part of the machinery for the manufacture of sugar, was the demand for slaves, as you understood, increased in consequence of the alteration of the Sugar Duties in this country? Yes, according to my information.—p. 25.

STEAMERS AS WELL AS SAILING VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE SLAVE-TRADE: PROFITS OF SUCCESSFUL ADVENTURES.

Would it not be easy, if the Government were in earnest, to show that the Brazilian subjects were liable to the penalties which the Brazilian law enacts against the slave-trade? It would be a heavy blow, and a great discouragement; but it is my opinion, that you will always find people who will embark in the trade; no risk has ever appeared to deter mankind from the prospects of enormous gains. This morning I drew out an estimate of the expenses of a slaver, and of the profits; a good-sized slaver, with a good cargo, without being very full, and at a high valuation for purchase, wages, food, medicines, and price of slaves, costs about £5000, and the return cargo of human beings sells for about £25,000—that is to say, at 500 per cent. profit.—Did you hear anything of steamers being built, or bought, for the purpose of carrying on the trade? Steamers were built at Ponta de Area, almost opposite to my house at Rio, for the purpose of the slave-trade.—Have you heard what has been their success? I know the steamers have landed cargoes of 1500 slaves; and to my knowledge, in the year 1847, there was one vessel that made five trips to Africa and back.—A steamer, or a sailer? A sailer, and landed all her cargoes; therefore, a steamer might make at least eight trips, and she carries more cargo.—Can you say what profits she must have made? The sailing vessel, of which I am speaking, brought, according to the lowest calculation, 3000 slaves; they give an average of £40 a-piece, and the expenses would be about a fifth of the net sale.—pp. 29 and 35.

Another instance of the success of a single vessel is given in the Appendix to the Lords' evidence on the slave-trade, from a despatch of Mr. Consul Porter, dated Bahia, 30th September, 1848. Mr. Porter says:—"I beg leave to call your lordships' attention to the Brazilian yacht, *Andorinha*, of eighty tons

burthen, which vessel has made eight successful voyages to and from the coast of Africa, having actually landed 3,392 slaves at this port, receiving the usual freight of 120 reis per head, amounting to £40,704 sterling, calculated at the current rate of exchange of 24d. per milrei. Her first cost, including everything necessary for the voyage, may have been about £2,000. The parties interested in the vessel admit that, after deducting all expenses, she has left a clear profit of more than 800 per cent. The *Andorinha* landed her first cargo of slaves in December, 1846."—Appendix, p. 98.

INSURANCE ON SLAVE ADVENTURES.

Is there any established rate of insurance upon the importation of slaves? I cannot tell what the rate is, it varies according to circumstances.—Is it a high rate? That depends very much on the information, what the state of our squadron is, and other risks or hindrances; of course our squadron, being upon the Plate, and not immediately off the different ports, tends somewhat to diminish the risk.—Are there organised companies for that purpose? Yes.—At Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco? I believe so,—certainly at Rio.—But they are not able to carry their affairs into public court, even in the country? No, because there is a law against slave dealing in Brazil, if it were only executed.—p. 28.

PERFECTION OF THE SCHEMES OF SLAVE-TRADERS.

In regard to the long reef, parallel with the coast, which you spoke of, is the interval between it and the shore such as to admit of cruisers, particularly of steamers, passing up and down? Some of the steam-vessels from Rio go within the reef, whereas our steamers do not; the boats, and even vessels of the country do it, but, until we have greater experience of it, I do not think that our own cruisers would think themselves justified in following where slavers could go in safety; the whole system of shore signals is now brought to a degree of perfection that is quite extraordinary, when you recollect the extent of the country. The boats go out to reconnoitre, and some being catamarans, as in the waters of Bahia and Pernambuco, they are hardly visible. When they see the cruisers, they sound immense horns, which are heard upon the shore, and up goes a fire upon the hill as a beacon, which is repeated along the coast; it is impossible for anything to be more perfectly managed; all the appliances of this trade are brought to a degree of perfection that is astonishing, and which nothing but the immense profit can explain. The slaves, too, are now landed in large flat-bottomed boats, which are filled with amazing celerity. The slaver does not even anchor; and after getting rid of her cargo, and perhaps part of her equipment, returns to Rio or Bahia, or Santos, or Santa Caterina, in ballast.—pp. 34, 35.

PRICES OF SLAVES IN BRAZIL.

What was the price of a slave when you left Rio? There are various races and prices; very fine slaves were worth about £60. There is also a great difference in the price of slaves, according to the way in which they are paid for; you can pay in ready money, or you may pay by credit; but, generally speaking, slaves sent into the country for agricultural labour, are paid for by instalments; and of those slaves, the price rises so much every year, till they are entirely paid for; therefore, a slave that would cost £60 at Rio, would probably rise £5 or £6 every six months, as long as credit was given, so that if he was not paid for for eighteen months he would cost £75.—When you say £60, that would be a slave for agricultural purposes, a newly imported slave? Yes, a very fine young man, fit for labour, or for learning a trade.—Do you know whether that price is larger or smaller than the price paid three or four years previously to your arrival at Rio? Certainly less.—The price of slaves has fallen since the year 1844 or 1845? Certainly.—Are women dearer than men? No, women are cheaper.—pp. 25 and 32.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

You have given the committee some idea of what you have seen of the state of the slaves at Rio Janeiro; have you any knowledge of the mode of treating the slaves in the more distant parts of the country? I must say that I do not think the treatment of the slaves in Brazil is ever deliberately bad; it has, and must have, the essential vice of being capricious under any circumstances; of course, a bad master and a cruel man beats his slave, as a cruel man beats his horse; but I should not say that the slaves were, generally speaking, suffering from ill-treatment, excepting suffering from the over-labour which is inflicted upon them at particular

times, and what are said to be unavoidable emergencies. I am told that the slaves suffer very much, in particular localities in Brazil, from the want of clothing. The susceptibility of cold in the African from Cabenda and Benguela is beyond anything you have any idea of; I have seen them, in the hottest day in Rio, when I have been suffering from the heat, making, at night, a fire of the shavings of wood, and sitting round the fire, even in very confined places, where one breathed with difficulty.—p. 31.

MORTALITY OF SLAVE POPULATION.

In Brazil the slaves are continually brought in and die off. The mortality in the first two or three years after importation, for some reason or other, is immense; they have not time to become acclimated, so as to fuse into one language—I am speaking of the agricultural slaves of the interior—when they do, they all speak Portuguese; at one step removed from their original parents, they do not speak their own language; but the importations do little more than fill up the generations that fall away.—But do you attribute the great mortality actually to the labour, or is it your opinion, rather, that it is in the seasoning the great numbers die? I should say that there was great mortality contingent upon sugar labour—for this reason, that it is so uncertain and so continuous, and requires such concentrated exertion at particular times. I should say, from all that has come under my own observation, that the Brazilians are by no means cruel to their slaves, at least not deliberately cruel, but they are cruel from the fact of overworking them, in consequence of what they consider to be the exigencies of cultivation, and of particular circumstances, at particular times, attending the elaboration of sugar.—They regard them as the means of producing a certain result? Yes; but there is this to be said, which I do not give as an excuse, but merely as a reason; from the want of the best machinery, of careful provision, of skilful practice, and of scientific knowledge, the Brazilian planters are not so independent, as they might otherwise be, of those atmospheric causes which act so much upon the elaboration of sugar, and which call for such great exertion as correctives. Now, in order not to lose their crops at particular times, they are obliged to have an amount of labour not only great in its intensity, but in its continuity. I am assured that if particular processes are abandoned for a certain time, even the time for sleeping or the time for eating, and unless they continually keep the action of labour upon them, they lose the produce altogether; and that like exigencies reproduce themselves three or four times in the act of making sugar. Of course I can only give a hearsay opinion upon this, because I am not a sugar cultivator, nor have I ever seen it made.—Is the mortality great in the rice and cotton districts? The mortality in all rice districts is always greater than anywhere else; the mortality between the rice district of Valencia, in Spain, and the neighbouring district of Murcia, is very remarkable; but with regard to the Brazilian rice I should say not more particularly than in other spots of similar culture anywhere.—Is the mortality there very great? I do not think it is, from any particular species of labour to which the slaves are subjected; but the mortality of the slaves, from some reason or another, independent of the work, is immense in Brazil; for a year or two after they come, they die in a most extraordinary proportion. It is an evident fact, that the climate of Brazil, tropical as it is, and apparently analogous to that of a great part of Africa, from some natural causes does not agree readily with the constitution of the negro.—You do not suppose that there is a rapid increase of the slave population? There has latterly been an increase of slaves by importation, but the increase of slaves by generation is very trifling throughout the empire.—pp. 22—36.

EFFECT OF CRUISING SYSTEM ON THE MORTALITY OF SLAVES.

There is no increase in the black race by the process of generation? I should say very little, and, I think, now less than ever, for this reason—there is an immense mortality among the slaves in the first two or three years after they arrive; in addition to that, one of the great objects, of course, is to get clear of our cruisers, and they find that the men are less fragile articles than the women, and bear the hardships to which they are subjected in the middle passage better, for which reason they now do not bring over that proportion of the sexes which they used to do. While there was a just proportion of the sexes, the proprietor got another produce besides the agricultural produce, and he looked to the animal produce as well as to the agricultural one; therefore, he took care of his slaves; but now it is not so; there are so few women brought

over, that the generating process is not thought of, and the men are worked out.—p. 23.

SLAVES IMPORTED INTO BRAZIL FREE.

Was it not proposed that the importers of slaves should be subject to a very heavy fine and imprisonment? That would be only the execution of the existing law; that law, as it now stands, is the law of 1831, passed during the Regency, in the name of the present Emperor, Don Pedro II., by which all slaves brought into Brazil, after the enactment, at once became free; there is fine and imprisonment upon those who bring them in, and the slaves are to be exported again, at the expense of the importers, to any point of Africa which may be determined by the Government; that is the law as it stands; the fines are to be paid to an hospital.—p. 32.

[We are unable, through want of space, to conclude Lord Howden's evidence in the present number; we must therefore defer giving his opinions on other points until our next.]

THE HON. CAPTAIN DENMAN AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Everything that proceeds from the pen of Captain Denman on the slave-trade deserves respectful notice. He is believed to be sincere in the opinion which he entertains, that his plan for blockading the coast of Africa would, if rigorously acted upon, annihilate that inhuman traffic; and he is known to be conscientiously opposed to slavery, in all its forms, and, in this respect, emulates the example of his distinguished father, the Lord Chief-Justice of England. With such a man, however much we may differ from him in judgment, we cannot quarrel; and, though he fail to do us justice in his argument, by fairly stating our propositions, and the reasons by which they are supported, we feel no inclination to retort upon him with severity, or treat him or his opinions with disrespect.

We have now before us Captain Denman's last pamphlet, entitled "The Slave-trade, the African Squadron, and Mr. Hutt's Committee," being a reprint of a critique which has appeared in the three last numbers of the "Colonial Magazine." It is evidently written with great care, and every argument that could be used has been pressed into his service with great adroitness and skill; but still we are unable to reach his conclusions, or to assure ourselves that his scheme for the suppression of the slave-trade would be a whit more successful than those which have been already tried, and have so signally failed.

Before we touch on those parts of Captain Denman's pamphlet which bear on the Anti-slavery Society, we feel it to be necessary to make two or three preliminary remarks:—First, that we do not feel ourselves called upon to defend either Mr. Hutt, or the conclusions of his Committee, in relation to the slave-trade. At the same time we do not think the hon. gentleman quite so vulnerable as his opponents conceive. Where he failed most, in our judgment, was in not indicating an efficient remedy for the slave-trade, which he was bound to do, by the terms under which the Committee, of which he was the Chairman, was appointed by the House of Commons, namely, "to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave-trade." This great point, if not wholly overlooked by the Committee, was not treated, in either of the two Reports presented by Mr. Hutt to the House, in a manner becoming its gravity and importance. Secondly, neither do we feel called upon to defend Sir Charles Hotham's professional reputation. He may have erred in his geographical and topographical knowledge of the west coast of Africa, and in the mode in which he employed the cruisers under his command; but one thing is certain, that he was more successful in the capture of slavers than any officer which preceded him; and that his judgment is clear upon the point, that no force that this country can bring to bear on the suppression of the traffic will eradicate it. No doubt Sir Charles will feel himself called upon to defend himself from the charges of ignorance and incapacity, which are brought against him. Thirdly, we do not feel ourselves called upon to defend ourselves from the attacks which are made upon us, because we refuse to discuss certain collateral issues which are urged upon our consideration, such as the anticipated revival of the British slave-trade, the protection of legitimate commerce, &c., the importance of which we acknowledge, but as they are not necessarily connected with the main question, the efficiency of the African squadron to suppress the

slave-trade, we refuse to encumber the discussion with them. At the proper time we shall not fail to record our opinions.

Having thus cleared the way, we now approach Captain Denman's estimate of the Society which we have the honour to represent:—

"To the adverse money interests of the moment must be added the scarcely less powerful impulses of prejudice; the Peace Society rules paramount in the councils of the self-styled champions of the negro, the Anti-slavery Society. These visionaries declare that, even in the tropics—in the West Indies, as compared with Brazil—free labour will beat slave-trade and slave labour—that free labour will effect, first, the suppression of the slave-trade, and then, the abolition of slavery itself. They also contend, that all attempts to suppress the slave-trade by the application of force are wrong and reprehensible, and moral influences alone are justifiable. In the meantime they see the West Indies perishing in the struggle, though the price of a negro in Brazil has been quadrupled, and the number introduced in the same degree diminished by the efforts of the squadron; though, the women being as one to ten to the men, no possible means exist by which the slave population can be maintained, except by continual importations; and while they know that the ruthless system of 'the largest amount of labour in the shortest time,' wrings eighteen hours' work out of the twenty-four from its victims, and consumes annually five per cent. of the whole number, they still adhere obstinately to their theories, and have given the whole weight of their title to the cause of perpetual slave trade. Their title is indeed their only weight, but still all-powerful when perverted to betray the interests of the negro, who has no means of making his protest heard."—p. 9.

Passing over the bad taste with which Captain Denman assails the Anti-slavery Society, we beg to correct an error into which he has fallen, and which could not have occurred had he paid common attention to its official documents. The Society has never maintained that "free labour will beat slave-trade and slave labour;" on the contrary, what they have maintained is this, "that free labour, all other things being equal, would be found both cheaper and better than slave labour." Let Captain Denman refer to the struggles of the Society to exclude the slave sugars of Cuba and Brazil, which are matters of history, and he will find it has done its duty, and has been content to endure an amount of opprobrium which could only be borne in a good cause. It is true the Society did not seek the exclusion of those sugars as a means of protecting West India interests, but in view of the higher interests of humanity and freedom. It was felt that to open the British markets to the consumption of such blood-stained produce would give a dreadful stimulus to the slave-trade, and render the abolition of slavery more difficult of attainment than ever. The Society fought, on the side of Lord Denman, the battle of human freedom in 1846, and lost it mainly through the treachery of the West India body in this country; and the perversion, as it appeared to them, of the free-trade principle in its application to slave produce. Our doctrine has been the free introduction of the free produce of all countries into the British markets, on equal duties. Deeply do we regret the passing of the Sugar Act of 1846. It was a deplorable error in statesmanship—a crime against humanity—and had it not been corrected, in some degree, by the Act of 1848, the slave-trade, which doubled under its operation, would have trebled. We go further than Captain Denman in our hostility to that measure. He would be content that the Act regulating the sugar duties should remain where it is; we would repeal it. The charge which, ignorantly, he brings against us of "aiding and abetting" the slave-traders, we might retort upon him; for, undoubtedly, he stands committed to an Act, which, upon his own showing, has greatly stimulated the slave-trade, and strengthened the system of slavery.

But Captain Denman proceeds:—

"It is now time to consider the question of the comparative extent of slave-trade, and how far Mr. Hutt, the *Times*, and the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are borne out in their assertions that the squadron has, in this respect, entirely failed to produce any good effect; but it is necessary to observe here, that the Anti-slavery Society grounds its arguments on Mr. Hutt's 'lot of statistics.'"—p. 22.

Now the statistics referred to were not Mr. Hutt's, but the late Mr. Bandinel's, than whom no person in these kingdoms had a more extensive or accurate acquaintance with the slave-trade. There can be no doubt that the statistics of Mr. Bandinel were drawn from the records of the Foreign Office, in which he served for a period of forty years; nor is it in the power of Captain Denman to diminish their value in any important degree. If Mr. Bandinel was misled by the evidence of Senor Cliffe, it must have

been simply in reference to the extent of the mortality in the middle passage; but, on this point, Cliffe's statement formed only one element in the calculations of Mr. Bandinel. To those who wish to study the bases on which Mr. Bandinel proceeded, they will do well to consult an elaborate paper drawn up by him, and inserted in the Appendix, entitled "Memoranda on the Mortality of Slaves in their passage in Slave Ships from Africa to the West Indies."—See *Appendix to Second Report of the Commons' Committee on the Slave-trade*, 1848, pp. 175–178.

The next reference to the Society is the following:—

"How the heart of every slave dealer must have leaped for joy, to find the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society joining with the press to clamour against coercive measures, just as those measures were for the first time making havoc on their traffic! Can we doubt that they instantly devoted themselves to exaggerate their success, and so play into the hands of their simple, unconscious dupes and interested accomplices here."—p. 27.

It is difficult, from anything which precedes this extract, to conceive the cause of this exclamation and appeal, except that Capt. Denman claims the diminution of the slave-trade which took place in 1840, and, in varying degrees, continued down to 1845, as the result of the operations of the cruising squadron. But we attribute it to a very different cause, namely, to the limited demand in the markets of the world for the produce of the Spanish colonies compared with their powers of production; and here are the proofs.

"The Slave-trade Commissioners at Havana, in a despatch dated 1st January, 1844, observe:—'In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have been for some time unable to meet their engagements, and are therefore unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause prevents their putting down of canes, and the making and extension of estates; it was for these purposes principally that new slaves were required.' It therefore became necessary that measures should be taken to conciliate the British Government, so as to open a new market in this country for Cuban sugars; and it is everywhere evident on the face of official documents, that the proprietors of estates and mercantile houses were willing to abandon the slave-trade to secure it. The Commissioners say,—'Whatever may have been the opinions formerly expressed, we have always felt convinced that the planters were opposed to the slave-trade, in proportion to their interests—according as their estates were sufficiently stocked with labourers. Fresh labourers were required for new plantations, which, some few years since, were commenced to a great extent; but, in the last two years, there has been a tendency to the contrary, and though an equal quantity of sugar has been produced, we believe it is to be ascribed only to the use of improved machinery, and the facilities of railroad carriage.' The Commissioners then go on to enumerate many striking facts, in corroboration of their views; and conclude by stating, that among the numerous memorials presented to the Captain-General against the continuance of the slave-trade, 'was one from the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake, Brothers, and Co., setting forth, that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, where, if this could be effected, at a rate even of fifty per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present. On the other hand they stated, that they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated traffic.'"

—*Slave-trade Papers*, 1844, Class A., p. 111.

Nor was the condition of things better in Brazil. In consequence of the excess of supply over demand, the price of sugar ruled very low; and so anxious were the Brazilians to obtain access to our markets, that they were prepared to meet the just and reasonable demands of the British Government, in relation to slavery and the slave-trade, in order to enjoy so great a boon. The subject is thus referred to, in the following extracts from our Consular agents residing in Brazil:—

"Mr. Consul Cowper, in a despatch addressed to Lord Aberdeen, dated Pernambuco, 17th January, 1842, says, 'In this sugar-growing province (Pernambuco), the policy of Her Majesty's Government is a matter of the utmost interest to the proprietors. I have taken considerable pains to inform myself of their feelings on the subject, and I find all the most intelligent anticipating that Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as a *quid pro quo* for the admission of her sugar, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement. I have mentioned this with a view of informing your lordship of the popular impressions on this deeply-interesting subject.'—*Slave-trade Papers*, Class B., 1842, p. 437.

"Mr. Consul Newcomen, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated Paraiba, February 5, 1845, wrote as follows:—'The subjecting of free-labour sugar to an unequal competition with that produced by slaves, is to be deprecated on many grounds. I have already stated, that the admission of Brazilian sugar into the English market at a low rate of duty, in the actual state of things, would indubitably give an impetus to the slave-trade.' And he adds—'I know many of the best-informed Brazilians entertain the opinion expressed on a late occasion in no private manner, that the Imperial Government must, sooner or later, not only concede to England all she requires towards the full and effectual suppression of the slave-trade, but also bind herself down to the final abolition of slavery throughout the empire at a future period; and that it would be much more politic to do so now, when she may hope for corresponding concessions from Great Britain, than to wait till driven by necessity into granting what she had refused to the dictates of humanity.'"—*Slave-trade Papers*, 1845, Class B, pp. 440, 441.

The effect of the alteration in our fiscal policy, without the "*quid pro quo*," is thus referred to in the Trade-circular of Drake, Brothers and Co., of the Havana, dated 8th of January, 1848:—"The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by the planters have been so highly remunerative, that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops." Nor has Brazil felt the impulse less. Commercially speaking, the last three years have been periods of unwonted prosperity to those countries, nor can that prosperity be attributed to any other cause than that they now find a market for their sugars in this country, which before was denied them.

Capt. Denman is exceedingly desirous of enlightening the Anti-slavery Society on the subject of "statistics:"—"We must once more," he says, "return to the '*lot of statistics*,' for the benefit of the Society, as well as for Mr. Hutt and his seven supporters."

"If the Anti-slavery Society pretends that the whole amount of slave-trade, in 1846 and 1847, equalled that which existed just after the English and American slave-trade ceased in 1807, they might perhaps be not very far from the truth; but to support the proposition that the squadron has failed, and always must fail, on such a foundation, is obviously as unfair as it is absurd. The year 1835 is obviously the period at which the comparison should be made, when one of the only two existing slave-trades was first struck—or 1839, when both fell within the reach of the squadron. The most unfair of all periods to take as the basis of such a calculation is obviously when British slave-trade was suddenly swept away. We would, however, advise the Society to reconsider conclusions founded on the '*lot of statistics*.'"—pp. 30, 31.

Certainly, the Society ought to be extremely obliged to the gallant Captain, for his proffered aid to help them through the "*lot of statistics*;" but, after the following specimen of his mode of dealing with figures, they might be fairly excused, if they decline his aid. He says, in continuation of the foregoing paragraph:—

"If we go back to an earlier date, we learn from M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary in 1846, in the article 'Slaves and Slave-trade,' 'between 1700 and 1786, 610,000 Africans were imported into Jamaica only; to which, adding the imports into the other islands and continental colonies, and those who died on the passage, the number carried from Africa will appear immense. The importations by other nations, particularly the French and Portuguese, were also very great.' To a single island 70,000 slaves imported annually for eighty-six years, and this on the undoubted authority of Bryan Edwards!"

According to Cocker, "70,000 slaves imported annually for eighty-six years," into the island of Jamaica alone, gives 6,020,000, not 610,000, as saith Bryan Edwards!

But we will also quote Bryan Edwards:—In the first volume of his "History of the West Indies," page 57, this historian says—"The whole number of slaves exported from Africa by the subjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, is estimated as follows, in the account sent by the merchants at Liverpool to the lords of the Privy Council, and is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can be obtained, viz.—By the British, 38,000; French, 20,000; Dutch, 4000; Danes, 2000; and Portuguese, 10,000; in all, 74,000." Now, if we make this the point of comparison, or take Mr. Bandinell's table for the seven years preceding the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain in 1807, which gives the annual export of slaves from Africa at 85,000, we state a fact when we say, that the traffic, under the new stimulus which it has received, is as great now as it was for several years previous to its abolition by this country; or, if it has suffered any diminution during the last twelve or eighteen months, it is assuredly not to be attributed to the squadron, but to the corrective applied in 1848 to the Sugar Act of 1846. The

challenge of Capt. Denman to the Society, "to deny that the squadron has produced an immense decrease of slave-trade since 1839, or that the diminished success, since 1845, has not arisen from causes palpable, notorious, and capable of remedy," we deem to be puerile, so long as it is clear, from the evidence laid before Parliament, "that the extent and activity of the slave-trade have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe;" and that its victims increased from 28,400 in 1842, to 55,062 in 1843; and from 30,758 in 1845, to 76,147 in 1846; and 84,353 in 1847. That the squadron may have checked it in any given year, by the introduction of a new system of tactics, we do not deny, but that, on an average of years, it has materially, if at all, affected the supply of slaves to Brazil and the Spanish colonies, we do not believe.

The attack made on the Anti-slavery Society by Capt. Denman, from page 46 of his pamphlet to the end, is really unworthy of him. Had he known the anti-slavery cause as long as we have, he would have learned, probably, that whilst great names have embellished it, the true workers have been mostly out of sight. If Capt. Denman finds any comfort in attacking the active labourers of the Society as "the self-styled champions of the negro," "visionaries," "nominal friends," &c., he is perfectly welcome to it; but when he says, "The Anti-slavery Society's opinions are so perverted, as to be most powerfully aiding the interests of the slave-dealer, and tending towards an unlimited and perpetuated slave-trade," we frankly tell him it is a calumny, which he ought not to have uttered, and which we believe he never would have uttered, had he been better informed on its whole course of proceeding.

In the account which Captain Denman gives of the origin of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, he errs in the statement of its fundamental principle, and its mode of action; but the best way to correct the error is to give its fundamental axiom *verbatim*, and here it is:—

"That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Now, we beg Captain Denman to notice, that not only is the foreign African slave-trade here referred to, but that internal traffic also, which invariably exists wherever slavery obtains. To annihilate the slave-trade, and extinguish the sale and barter of human beings, you must destroy slavery; and, therefore, the overthrow of slavery is the main object of the Society's efforts. Again, it will be perceived, that whilst the Society properly restricts itself to the use of moral, religious, and pacific means, for the accomplishment of its great object, the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, it does not arrogantly dictate to others the course they must pursue; it simply but sincerely declares its conviction that the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade will be most effectually attained by the means which it recommends. And in that view of the case they are fully borne out by the experience of that illustrious band of abolitionists who formed the African Institution; and who, after twenty years of fruitless efforts to abolish the slave-trade by diplomacy and force, left it on record, that "it is in slavery the slave-trade has its origin; it is the market provided by the slaveholder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves, to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture, to the condensed horrors of the middle passage, and to the misery and desolation of a continent." The fact thus enunciated indicated the true point of attack—Slavery must be abolished, in order that the slave-trade, in its several forms, may be annihilated.

Only one point more requires to be noticed, and that is, the remedy proposed by the Society, which Captain Denman affects to treat with contempt, and in doing which, he not only betrays the honour of his country, but abandons millions of innocent human beings to the accumulated horrors and degradation of slavery in the Spanish colonies and Brazil. He says:—"The cessation of the African slave-trade for some years is an indispensable preliminary to emancipation; and, much as we abhor slavery, we should deplore such an event, as involving terrible sufferings and excesses at the moment, and as holding forth no promise of future improvement." Admirable plea for injustice, inhumanity, and impiety! Does Captain Denman know, that the millions, for whose liberty the Anti-slavery Society

contends, are held, not only contrary to the solemn stipulations of treaties, but to the laws of Spain and Brazil? Let him ask his illustrious father, the great expounder of British law, whether any plea of expediency, or any fear of consequences, would hinder him from decreeing the immediate emancipation of every African in those countries who was clearly entitled to his freedom. But we do not believe that an act of justice, such as we contemplate, would be attended with any other than happy results, unless we are prepared to reject the teaching of the sacred Scriptures, and the universal experience of mankind. The case of St. Domingo, alluded to by Captain Denman, is utterly opposed to his theory; emancipation there was followed, in the first instance, by the most remarkable prosperity, and it was only when a base and brutal attempt was made by Bonaparte, instigated by the planters, to re-enslave the people of that island, that the horrors to which he refers, occurred. We are surprised that Captain Denman is so ill-instructed on anti-slavery matters, as to have made so palpable a mistake.

But, in opposition to his opinion, and in support of our own, we beg to remind Captain Denman that Lord Palmerston, as far back as 1840, not only recognised the remedy, but commenced its application to the slaves illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies; and there can be little doubt that had his lordship remained in office, the slave-trade would have entirely disappeared from them, and slavery itself have been gradually abolished. But a change in the Government brought a change of policy, and the consequence has been the renewal of the slave-trade and the extension of slavery. If, in relation to Cuba, the foreign African slave-trade has not been carried on so extensively during the last four years as at previous periods, it is to be attributed to the fact, that the sugar planters have found a large internal supply of negroes, who were attached to the coffee estates destroyed by hurricanes in the years 1844 and 1846. The plan recommended by the Society is, that a formal demand should be made on the Governments of Spain and Brazil for the liberation from slavery of all the Africans, with their descendants, who, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, have been illicitly introduced into their colonies and territories respectively, and who are declared by Spanish and Brazilian law entitled to their freedom. It is proposed, that should these Governments attempt to evade the demand, or to procrastinate its strict fulfilment, it be notified to them that measures will be taken to exclude their produce from the British markets, until such time as slavery itself shall be abolished by them. In all this, we only ask that which is just in itself, in accordance with treaties and with law, and which is perfectly feasible; nor can there be any doubt, that if the demand be made by the Government, and duly sustained by public opinion, that it will accomplish the great object which the Society has in view. At all events, so thinks the country, so far as an opportunity has yet been afforded of making the facts of the case clearly known. Captain Denman may, if he please, still persist in supporting the squadron, and, if he can, prevail upon the Government to give him its command, with full power to carry his plans into execution, we shall not quarrel with him on that ground, though we can be no parties to it; but we entreat him not to interfere with us in the proper sphere of our duty, so long as it harmonises with the principles of justice, humanity, and religion.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

(From the Bradford Observer.)

We elsewhere give a full report of the speech delivered on Tuesday night by the indefatigable secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, John Scoble, Esq. Having so done, it is the less necessary for us to extend the present observations by any lengthened description of the horrid traffic in human flesh and blood and intellect. Were slavery less fraught with horrors than it is—were there no African villages burnt, no forced marches over burning deserts, no barracoons, no disease nor mortality on the middle passage, no barbarity subsequently to the final transfer in the market-places of Brazil or the United States—in a word, were men and women captured as carefully, lodged as comfortably, fed as liberally, and tended as kindly, as exported sheep or cows or horses, still the fact of seven and a half millions of our own race being held and disposed of as marketable commodities ought at once to arouse the whole civilised world to prompt and united action. But when to the indignity of making merchandise of men, is superadded the atrocity of heaping upon these victims of injustice every species of refined and accumulated brutality—when these millions of our fellow-immortals are first reduced to the rank of marketable animals, and then treated as no marketable animals ever yet were—when to the abrogation of human rights is supple-

mented the abrogation of the privileges conceded to the meanest brute, such a picture of infamy is revealed as ought to throw every minor consideration into abeyance, and beget a desire to terminate, at any cost, so loathsome an outrage upon the honour and morality of every nation under heaven.

The great difficulty, in this country at least, is not to originate a feeling of detestation with regard to this traffic. Such a feeling already exists, and even when it slumbers, or is kept in abeyance, it ever retains the vitality and vigour of its former history. No; the difficulty is not to create an anti-slavery feeling, but to remove impediments standing in the way of practical efforts, and to obviate objections arising out of certain recognised commercial and other principles. We publish to-day a letter from an esteemed and highly respected correspondent which develops one of these difficulties. The Peace Society deprecates all fighting and under all circumstances. Financial Reformers, having seen the country well-nigh ruined by the expenses of war in defence of tyranny, will tolerate no more war, even though waged in support of freedom and humanity. Free-traders, or a section of them at least, earnestly deprecate even the slightest interference with the sacred rights of international barter, and consider that whilst denouncing the horrors of slavery we must by no means reflect upon the morality of slave-grown sugar. Now we have not the slightest wish nor remotest intention to dogmatise upon topics which have long divided the opinions of many honest and competent men, but we would suggest that free trade, like free discussion, free locomotion, free publication, and every other description of free movement and enterprise, has its limits. Absolute liberty is an impossibility; a contradiction in terms. An attempt to realise it would only issue, first in absolute tyranny,—and then in absolute extermination. No man can, under all circumstances, "do what he likes with his own." How often do we hear that "property has its duties as well as its rights?" So trade has its limits as well as its licence; but when we speak of free-trade being "limited," let us not be misunderstood. We mean only such limits as truth, justice, and honesty render imperative. Free-trade does not imply the right to deal in stolen goods. The freedom of speech does not signify the impunity of libel. Free locomotion does not involve the legitimatising of trespass. A free press does not mean permission to scatter on every side the elements of anarchy, ruin, and death. Every human operation is necessarily subjected to certain restrictions which are necessary as much for its own safety as for the security of the rest. Unlimited liberty would be the freedom of the forest, where the strongest reigns by brute terror and force, until a stronger than himself dethrones the tyrant and usurps the conquered throne.

We wish trade to be "free as the winds,"—but not "fierce as the hurricane." We wish to see "Old Ocean" covered with the ships of all nations, harmoniously and profitably engaged in peaceful commerce, unrestricted and unfettered! But if ships are fitted up for plunder, whether called by the name of pirate or slaver, we would extend no immunity to them. Freebooters are not exactly free-traders; nor is the flesh and blood of men, as yet, a universally recognised article of legitimate merchandise.

If, then, the slave-trade is not fair trade, it is our duty to oppose the slave-trade. And if free commerce, as expounded by the Manchester school, tied up the hands of its advocates from all practical effort in the cause of the world's humanity, why then we would wash our hands of such commercial economics. It never can be that our fellow-creatures, made in God's image, are to be surrendered to hopeless and endless oppression and woe, because England is at last converted to the principles of Peace and Cheap Bread!

The plan recommended by the Anti-slavery Society, of refusing to purchase Brazilian goods until Brazil fulfils her treaties, is, after all, only doing on a large scale what every private family would do on a smaller, in refusing to patronise a tradesman whose books exhibited a want of honesty and integrity. We know the point in which this analogy might be supposed to fail, but it is sufficiently pertinent for the present extent of our argument. We know it will be said, "If we don't buy, others will;"—to which it may be enough to say—"We are not responsible for the faults of others, but we are for our own." Still, after all, we are not herein addressing ourselves to the vindication of the course recommended, which has much to be considered on both sides: let every one form his own opinion. We are, however, and do declare ourselves extremely anxious, that the salutary principles of free-trade may not degenerate into heartless selfishness. We should be overwhelmed with sorrow if a righteous commercial system had no safety valve to save it from the influence of unbridled and reckless avarice. The *Times* says, free-trade requires us to find money for desolating Hungary. Others say that free-trade requires us to find gold to keep up the abominations of the slave-trade. We abjure both, being confident that a system, which has hitherto associated itself with the welfare of mankind, can scarcely now turn round and prove the universal scourge of humanity. We are for free-trade and free men.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND THE AFRICAN SQUADRON.

(From the Leeds Mercury.)

We have been slowly and reluctantly driven to the conclusion, that it is the duty of our Government to withdraw the squadron which has for so many years been stationed on the African coast for the purpose of preventing the slave-trade. The first and principal reason for abandoning this mode of warfare against the most nefarious and horrible traffic in the world, is its proved inefficiency. It seems, from long experience, impossible to watch a coast of 2,900 miles in extent, so as to prevent the slavers from taking their living cargoes across the ocean. The slave-trade has of late years been as extensive as it ever was in the history of the world. It has varied remarkably, but the following return, given in the Report of the Commons' Committee, would seem to prove that all the efforts of England, France, the United States, and Portugal, are absolutely inefficient as to results:—

Date.	No. of Slaves exported from Africa. Yearly average.	Captured by Cruisers. Yearly average.	Average deaths on the voyage.	
			Proportion of the whole.	No.
In 1788	100,000		14 per cent.	14,000
1798 to 1805	85,000		14 "	12,000
1805 to 1810	85,000		14 "	12,000
1810 to 1815	93,000		14 "	13,000
1815 to 1817	106,600		25 "	26,600
1817 to 1819	106,600		25 "	26,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	1,200	25 "	25,800
1825 to 1830	125,000	4,000	25 "	31,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	3,900	25 "	19,600
1835 to 1840	135,800	7,900	25 "	33,900
1840	64,114	3,616	25 "	16,068
1841 to 1844	45,665	4,322	25 "	11,416
1845 to 1847	65,743	3,424	25 "	16,436

In the eight years from 1840 to 1847, the number of slaves in all the captured slave ships was only 6½ per cent. of the whole number exported from Africa; and—shocking to say!—it is hardly more than one-fourth of the number that are estimated to have perished on the voyage! With these facts before us, we are compelled to admit that the squadron, which has been maintained on the coast of Africa for thirty years, has been all but perfectly inefficient.

It is, however, believed that the attempted blockade is in some respects worse than useless, inasmuch as it induces the captains of the slavers to pack their living cargoes closer and in smaller vessels, in order that the vessels may more easily escape the cruisers. The mortality of slaves on the passage, which was only fourteen per cent. at the beginning of the century, is estimated now at twenty-five per cent.

The cost of the preventive squadron to this country, both in money and in human life, is immensely great; namely, about £650,000 per annum for the direct charge, and, including indirect cost, upwards of £1,000,000 per annum. The mortality of seamen on the African station is painfully large.

If the squadrons have been inefficient when France co-operated, of course they will be much more so when her ships are withdrawn, as they are already in part, and will soon be altogether.

We therefore think our well-meant efforts to put down the slave-trade have failed, and that it is the part of duty to discontinue them.

But, inasmuch as both Spain and Brazil have bound themselves by treaty to this country to abolish the slave-trade,—as they have actually decreed its abolition, and decreed that negroes landed in violation of the law should be free,—and as Great Britain paid £400,000 to Spain, and £900,000 to Brazil as the price of those treaties—our Government has a right to claim their strict enforcement, and the liberation of all slaves imported since the dates of the treaties, with their offspring. We believe that that claim, distinctly and firmly made, and persisted in, would ultimately compel the Governments of Spain and Brazil to acquiesce. We would not go to war to compel acquiescence, neither would we enter on fiscal hostilities. But we would persist in making the claim publicly, and would mention the subject yearly in the Queen's speeches, which, if we mistake not, would ere long shame and force Spain and Brazil, by the opinion of the world and even of their own subjects, into the effectual abolition of the slave-trade, and of slavery itself.

To this extent we entirely agree with the Anti-slavery Society, and with their eloquent Secretary, Mr. Scoble, who is holding public meetings in various parts of the country.

But in one point we as decidedly differ from that Society. Mr. Scoble is everywhere trying to obtain memorials to Government, in favour of enforcing their demands on the Governments of Spain and Brazil, by a threat to exclude the produce of Brazil and Cuba from the market of Great Britain. So far back as the year 1841, when Lord Sandon and the Protectionists defeated the free trade measures of the Whigs by the plea against slave-grown sugar, we have maintained this position to be false. Mr. Cobden has always so viewed it, and the Anti-

slavery Society were defeated on the point at a great meeting in Exeter-hall. The fact is, the proposed measure would be as utterly futile in practice as it is untenable in theory. The objections to it were stated by Mr. Alderman Carbutt and other speakers at the Leeds meeting; and the Leeds memorial did not include the prayer for fiscal hostilities. The objections are briefly as follows:—

1st. It would irritate both the Government and the people of Spain and Brazil, and would probably rather strengthen the slave owners in resisting emancipation, by raising up a patriotic feeling against foreign dictation. Such undoubtedly would be the case in the United States; and we have had very recent instances of the pride and resentment of the Spanish and Brazilian Governments against this country.

2nd. It would be establishing a moral tariff, interfering with the general practice of free trade—a practice which we believe to be eminently favourable to peace and good-will, to liberty, to good government, and to the prosperity of nations.

3rd. The principle on which fiscal hostility would be based is altogether untenable, and it is impossible to carry it out. If we exclude the slave produce of Cuba and Brazil, we must on the same principle exclude the slave produce of the United States, the serf produce of Russia and Egypt, and perhaps the produce of all countries where the people do not enjoy political liberty, including the whole of Asia. But to do this would cut off a very large proportion both of our imports and of our exports. The population of Lancashire would be starved by the application of the rule to slave-grown cotton: and if we were to apply it, we should be further off the emancipation of the slaves of the United States than we are at present, when religion, reason, and humanity are working their way to the great object.

4th. The effect of excluding the produce of Spain and Brazil would be to punish the people of England quite as much as the people of those countries,—both our consumers of sugar, coffee, &c., in the price of those articles, and our manufacturers in cutting off important markets for their goods.

5th. The hostility would, after all, be as futile as lashing the waves. When our laws excluded all foreign sugar, we could have excluded the sugar of Cuba and Brazil along with the rest. But now the utmost we could do would be to force the sugar of those countries to be sent to the Continent, whilst the selfsame sugar or other sugar (such as that of Java, or the beet-root sugar of France) would be sent to England. We could not, then, punish Spain and Brazil; but we should punish ourselves by diverting the trade of those countries from London and Liverpool to Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Antwerp.

It is pleaded that the measure of fiscal hostility against Brazil and Spain is recommended as an exceptional measure, and solely on the ground of their having violated their engagements to Great Britain. But surely the principle is, opposition to the slave-trade and to slavery; and the Anti-slavery Society from the first took that broad ground, and recommended the exclusion of all slave-grown sugar: therefore, it is incorrect to say that the violation of treaties would be the cause of our excluding Cuban and Brazilian sugar.

It is also argued that we could not prohibit the cotton, tobacco, and rice of the United States, because we are bound by treaty to admit all the produce of that country on as favourable terms as the produce of any other country. If so, then we are already precluded from carrying out the exclusion of slave produce; to attempt it would be a bootless inconsistency.

Mr. Scoble has succeeded, by his persuasive eloquence, in inducing not a few towns, celebrated for their attachment to free-trade, to vote memorials in favour of fiscal war against Spain and Brazil. We believe they have passed the memorial unawares, and that they would not, if the whole argument were before them, sanction the principle involved.

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

(From the Westminster Review, January, 1850.)

Perhaps it was through the outcry that that was made on the subject of protection to the West India interest, that the voice of reason and humanity could not then be heard. Of the West India interest enough has been said. As against the British consumer, they have not a shadow of a case. They received £20,000,000 in compensation; and if that sum was not sufficient, they had thirteen years of protective duties (from the year 1833 to 1846), which it has been shown were equivalent to £30,000,000. Here was money enough and time enough afforded to enable them to put their house in order, and prepare for any failure of industry that might arise from foreign competition. But there are higher considerations than those of the West India interests, or than the interests of the British consumer, in regard to cheap sugar, and an outlet for our manufactures. Advocates as we have always been of free trade, and remain from conviction, it is not a code which comprises with us the whole duty of man. We put this question on precisely the same footing as the Austrian loan, denounced by Mr. Cobden. Free trade in money is an excellent thing, but we are not, in our eagerness for six or ten per cent. interest, to make

ourselves parties to murder. If we lend our money to a man with the foreknowledge that it is intended for the purchase of a gun with which a murder is to be committed, the blood of the murdered man is upon our heads.

Every one make the application. If we can soften the lot of the slave, raise the condition of some millions of human beings, and prepare them ultimately for the duties and privileges of citizenship, by negotiations based upon fiscal measures, that shall throw discouragement in the path of those who would perpetuate obstacles to human progress—and by treaties founded upon them, to which all Europe might be made a party, even if those measures influenced opinion no further than as a standing protest against inhumanity,—the price of sugar, coffee, cotton, or any article of slave produce, slightly raised by such restrictions (and we are not contending for any extreme course, which would defeat itself), ought not to weigh as a feather in the comparison.

The most favourable moment has passed by, but it will never be too late for such an experiment while slavery exists. We have committed a mistake—but our laws are not irrevocable. Let us hasten to amend them.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY the 1st, 1850.

A second series of meetings has been recently held in various parts of the country, by Mr. Scoble, the Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society, at which he has laid before them the present enormous extent and accumulated horrors of the slave-trade, the bad faith of the Brazilian and Spanish Governments, in their constant violation of the treaties with this country for its suppression, and on the necessity of making a formal demand on their respective Governments for the liberation from slavery, in which they are now illegally held, of all Africans, with their descendants, who, contrary to the stipulations of the said treaties, have been illicitly introduced into their territories and colonies respectively. To enforce the demand, in case of its being either evaded or procrastinated, Mr. Scoble suggested that the produce of those countries should be excluded from the British markets, until slavery itself shall be abolished by them. From the communications received from him we are enabled to say, that with the three exceptions of Leeds, Huddersfield, and Halifax, petitions to both Houses of Parliament, in accordance with the facts of the case and the recommendations of the Anti-slavery Committee, were agreed to; and that, in those towns, petitions have been adopted, embracing substantially the suggestions of the Committee, but leaving the mode by which the demand on Brazil and Spain should be enforced an open question. The places recently visited are Dartford, Norwood, Tottenham and Edmonton, Ware, Hertford, Bury St. Edmonds, Cheltenham, Gloucester, Worcester, Stroud, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Birmingham, Coventry, Wakefield, Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield, and Halifax.

We have the greatest satisfaction in being able to state that the anti-slavery feeling throughout the country is not extinct, but on the contrary, that the new effort to awaken public attention to the great subject of human rights has been attended with great success; the deepest feeling of sympathy, manifested on behalf of the suffering and oppressed portions of mankind; and an earnest determination excited to seek by all lawful and Christian means the overthrow of those huge systems of iniquity which prevail in the United States, Brazil, and the Spanish colonies.

The bad faith of Brazil and Spain, in the non-fulfilment of treaties solemnly made, has excited both indignation and disgust, and we feel satisfied that any Government will be sustained in making a formal demand on them in accordance with the obligations by which they are bound, even should it lead to non-intercourse with them, until the object for which those treaties were made be fully accomplished.

The abolition of slavery and the slave-trade is one of the great necessities and duties of the age. Until it be accomplished, an obstacle to the civilisation of the human race, and the general diffusion of the gospel, exists of the most formidable kind. Wherever slavery obtains, we find its victims degraded to the condition of property, the most sacred and endearing relations of social life abrogated, and the claims of humanity, justice, and religion, altogether evaded or denied. The testimony of a thousand witnesses shows that slaves are treated with barbarous inhumanity, plunged into the profoundest depths of ignorance, their labour coerced by the whip, and, practically, their lives placed at the disposal of their

owners. Under such circumstances, no wonder that they are embruted and their masters demonized.

But, it is said, however much we may deplore the existence of slavery and reprobate its atrocities, we are not responsible for its existence in foreign countries; and having no power over their legislation, have no right to interfere with their institutions. All we can do, is to express our abhorrence of their practices, and to persuade those countries to abandon them.

The validity of this plea must be admitted wherever it justly applies; but if it can be shown that either as individuals, or as a nation, we directly or indirectly strengthen and extend this system of iniquity, the plea has no force in it, and we must be held amenable for the consequences. This is precisely our relation to slavery in the United States. We have done more than any other people, by commercial intercourse, to give vitality to the slave system of that country. For instance, the following table will strikingly exemplify how the demand for cotton has extended and consolidated the system of slavery there:—

EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM THE SLAVE STATES OF THE UNITED STATES.

YEAR.	LBS.
1790	180,316
1800	20,911,201
1810	62,186,081
1820	124,893,405
1830	270,979,784
1840	540,957,568
1843	1,081,919,136
1846	1,250,500,000

SLAVE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

YEAR.	
1790	657,437
1800	866,582
1810	1,299,872
1820	1,733,162
1830	2,310,882
1840	2,485,683
1843	2,847,810
1846	3,000,000

Commercially speaking, we might rejoice in this large development of the resources of the United States, and of our participation in the material benefits derived therefrom. But when we consider at how dear a cost to human liberty, and at how frightful a violation of the moral laws by which the world should be governed, it has been obtained, we confess that we cannot reconcile ourselves to it. On the contrary, we conceive it to be a solemn duty which we owe to millions of our suffering and oppressed fellow-creatures, no less than to the revealed will of God, that we disengage ourselves as speedily as possible from all participation in its unrighteous gains.

But if the plea to which we have referred will not hold good in reference to the slave States of the United States, much less is it valid as against Spain and Brazil. We have treaties with both those powers, purchased at a large cost by the Government of this country, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and have, therefore, acquired a right to interfere with the institution of slavery in their several colonies and territories. We have a right to say to Spain and Brazil, that all the slaves, with their descendants, who have been illicitly, and, according to their own laws, illegally introduced into their several dependencies, should be forthwith declared free, and that the traffic in human beings, which they have for so many years flagrantly carried on, should utterly cease. All this, and more, we have a right to demand from Spain and Brazil, and, according to the law of nations, to enforce the demand, if need be, by a declaration of war. Upon this point there can be no question—the highest authorities in this country having given their opinion in its favour. But we, looking to the general interests of humanity and freedom, have no wish that our just rights should be wrenched from Spain and Brazil by violence, and are content that in the event of the just demands of this country being evaded, or resisted, that we should declare ourselves determined to prohibit the introduction of their produce into our markets until slavery itself should be abolished by them. We have been led to make these general remarks, after the perusal of an article which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, of the 26th ultimo, in defence of the application of free-trade principles to slave-trade products, and which we have given at length in a previous part of the *Reporter*.

The first reason adduced by our respected contemporary, in defence of his view of the case, is, that the application of our principle would irritate Spain and Brazil. We confess we are at a loss to conceive on what ground these countries can feel irritation against us, when we simply ask them to perform an act of justice, which they are bound by every consideration of national honour and international obligation to perform. If irritation might be shown, surely it is Great Britain who has cause for it, and not Brazil or Spain. Year after year, for the last quarter of a century, or more, we have been treated with indignity by these two

powers. We have witnessed treaties, voluntarily negotiated, shamefully broken. We have remonstrated and protested, and even threatened, in vain. We have had much patience, and the very reluctance which we have manifested to assume a hostile attitude, has been interpreted into a willingness on our part to allow the traffic in human beings to continue, provided that, either directly or indirectly, our merchants and manufacturers might derive advantages therefrom. It is high time that they should be disabused upon this point, and that we should avail ourselves of the power which we possess, under treaties, to strike an effective blow against the huge system of slavery and of slave trading which is sustained by them. To act otherwise would be to repeat, in the instances of the Spanish colonies and Brazil, what we have already unhappily done in building up the system of slavery in the United States.

Our contemporary objects to our view of the case because it would be establishing a moral tariff, interfering with the general practice of free-trade. Now, we ask, does our contemporary think that it would be really injurious to free-trade, if it were regulated by the principles of universal justice and benevolence; or rather, we would ask, whether moral duties are to be subordinated to commercial interests? If we interpret our contemporary aright, he overlooks the limits by which the free-trade principle must be restrained, if we would prevent it from degenerating into a curse instead of making it a blessing. If we would consecrate it to the highest and noblest ends of human existence, then we must apply it in such a way as to advance those ends. But surely that cannot be a legitimate application of the principle of free-trade, which debases and enslaves any portion of mankind. We perfectly agree with our contemporary in the beneficent tendencies of free-trade, when legitimately applied; we believe it to be eminently conducive, when so applied, "to peace and good-will, to liberty, to good government, and the prosperity of nations;" but not otherwise.

"But," says our contemporary, "the principle on which fiscal hostility would be based is altogether untenable, and it is impossible to carry it out." This is a mere begging of the question, or rather a mere assumption. It may be difficult, in view of existing interests, wholly to accomplish our object—but it is not impossible; for we hold that, whatever falls within the range of human duty is capable of being performed. We may not be able very readily to reconcile conflicting interests and claims, but we believe that a satisfactory solution of the difficulty presented by our contemporary may be found, if there be a willingness, on the part of those immediately interested in the present commercial arrangements with slaveholding countries, to entertain it. Indeed, some light is breaking in upon our merchants and manufacturers at the present time; they feel that it is not convenient to be so entirely dependent, as they now are, upon the cotton growers of the United States; they fear that their capital may at any moment be jeopardised by a servile insurrection, or by war, and to relieve themselves from their present precarious position they are most anxious to extend the culture of cotton by freemen, upon the principle of self-protection. It is evidently less dangerous to be dependent upon freemen than upon the enslaved.

It appears, however, that the effect of excluding the produce of Spain and Brazil would be to punish the people of England quite as much as the people of Spain and Brazil. This goes on the supposition that the produce we require cannot be obtained elsewhere. Now we believe that we should find little difficulty of obtaining the necessary supplies of sugar, coffee, &c., if Brazil and the Spanish colonies were wholly to disappear as producers of those articles; the demand would soon create the supply; and we know that the result of drawing supplies from any country would be to create corresponding demand for the manufactures we can prepare in return. We are not, therefore, alarmed at the picture drawn of the consequences which he imagines would result from non-intercourse with those countries.

We scarcely know how to deal with the last objection of our contemporary, who thinks we should be merely "lashing the waves" by the attempt to exclude the sugars of Cuba and Brazil from the British markets, inasmuch as that which is rejected here, will find its way to other places. Now, if even this were so, would it be nothing that this great country stood clear of the guilt of sustaining the atrocious system of slavery which exists in those countries? We firmly believe, however, that the Brazilians and Cubans understand this question better than our contemporary; and as, before the introduction of their sugars into our markets, in

1846, they were most anxious to come to terms with us, both in reference to slavery and the slave-trade, so now, rather than lose the benefits of our market, they would be willing to concede all that we can justly demand. We have no wish to prevent the most enlarged commercial intercourse with those countries; on the contrary, were they to change their slaves into freemen, we should be as strenuous for the introduction of their produce into our markets, on equal duties with those from our own possessions and plantations abroad, as we are now for applying the doctrine of prohibition, until they perform the obligations they owe to this country, and their duty to 4,000,000 of human beings whom they now hold in the most cruel bondage.

We recommend, in conclusion, to our contemporary, the perusal of the able remarks we have given elsewhere from the *Bradford Observer*, and the last number of the *Westminster Review*.

We regret that we are unable to report the proceedings of an important meeting held at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on the 17th of January last, to consider the question whether a more certain and regular supply of cotton could not be obtained from British India, at which the president of the Chamber, Thomas Bazley, Esq., presided. But we give the result of its deliberations in the following series of resolutions, in the object and recommendations of which we most heartily concur:—

1. That the fact of the continued dependence of the great industry of this district for the supply of its raw material, mainly from a single source, calls for the serious consideration of all who are interested in the security and prosperity of the cotton trade.

2. That notwithstanding the many proofs that the climate and soil of large portions of British India are well suited to the growth of cotton, and the many and costly experiments made by the East India Company to promote its growth within the territories subjected to their rule, this chamber is reluctantly compelled to believe that up to this time no sensible progress has been made towards procuring for the manufacturers of the United Kingdom a supply of cotton the produce of British India, and that proof is altogether wanting to show that the efforts hitherto made by the East India Company have resulted in any increase in the production of cotton in India.

3. That this chamber is led to believe that the economical condition of many parts of India is unfavourable to the extension and permanence of that industry, without which large and steady exports of cotton to this country cannot reasonably be looked for, and that it is essential to the security and well-being both of India and of the cotton trade of England, that a searching investigation be instituted into the causes which have so long baffled the efforts which have been made to stimulate the growth of cotton in India.

4. That this chamber, contemplating the early expiration of the East India Company's charter, is of opinion that a special commission of inquiry should be sent forthwith to India to examine into the condition of the country, especially within the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, with a view to ascertain what are the obstacles to the growth of cotton, and to the extension and permanence of a profitable industry in the cultivation of the soil; and the chamber is also of opinion that the report of such a commission would furnish invaluable information to the legislature and the public, before the consideration of the future government of India is again brought before parliament.

5. That the directors of the chamber be requested to prepare a petition for presentation to the House of Commons, and a memorial to Lord John Russell, urging the appointment of such a commission of inquiry, and to take such steps as to them may seem desirable to obtain the co-operation of all parties concerned in the cotton trade, in the promotion of this important object.

Amongst others the following gentlemen took part in the proceedings—John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Hon. T. M. Gibson, M.P., Wm. Brown, Esq., M.P.; James Kershaw, Esq., M.P.; Mr. H. Ashworth, &c., &c., &c.

ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN ON THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

We are requested to state that the Committee who promoted the address to the Queen on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, mentioned sometime since in our columns, are desirous of collecting all the sheets that have been issued for signature. Should there be any remaining in the hands of their friends, they would be obliged by their being forwarded, at once, to the care of T. and W. Southall, Bull-street, Birmingham.

The Committee take this opportunity of informing all who have been interested in the object, that the address has received more than 50,000 signatures in England and in Scotland, and that they are anxiously endeavouring to secure the best mode in their power for its presentation.

BARBADOES.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING, TO RECEIVE
MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND CANDLER.

The Meeting announced to be held on the 6th of December, at the Moravian Chapel, Roebuck Street, with the view of taking measures for carrying out one of the objects contemplated by the two delegates from the Anti-slavery Society—viz. the formation of an Auxiliary Society here, in connection with the London Society—was, we are happy to state, very numerous and respectfully attended.

At 7 o'clock the proceedings were commenced by Dr. W. J. King being moved to the chair, who stated the object of the meeting in a few appropriate remarks, in the course of which he said, he felt much real pleasure in identifying himself with this meeting, believing that it originated in a sincere desire to benefit Africa and its descendants, and he earnestly hoped that it might be productive of substantial benefit to them.

G. W. Alexander, Esq., remarked that it was deeply interesting and highly satisfactory to him to have the opportunity of attending an anti-slavery meeting in Barbadoes. The objects for which they were assembled were of vast magnitude and importance—to promote the universal abolition of the slave-trade and slavery. To those who were engaged in the prosecution of such an undertaking, it was cheering to reflect upon how much had been already accomplished. When Clarkson first commenced his labours for the abolition of the slave-trade, nearly every great maritime nation was involved in the prosecution of that detestable traffic. Great Britain occupied a bad pre-eminence in the crime—one-half of the whole number of Africans who were torn from their native country being conveyed to the new world in British vessels. The young champion was not, however, daunted by that circumstance from endeavouring to put an end to the Anglo-African slave-trade, to which enterprise he resolved to devote his whole life, if that were needful. Aided by Wilberforce, and other great and good men, in twenty years the vast and humane project was accomplished. Other nations, about the same period, or at a later date, had successively declared the African slave-trade illegal, and it is now only carried on by one or two countries, in defiance of their own laws, and it might be added, in violation of solemn treaties with Great Britain. The countries who have been thus guilty of late years are Brazil and Cuba. The slave-trade was declared illegal by Great Britain in 1807; and it seemed strange that earlier efforts should not have been made for the abolition of slavery itself, than those which had taken place. The first organised steps for the accomplishment of that end appear to have been made about the year 1823. At that period Great Britain possessed in her colonies a larger slave population than any other power, and one equal to that held under all the other slaveholding Governments of Europe. The number of slaves in the British colonies, five-and-twenty years since, was nearly 800,000. Again the efforts of the leading friends of the slaves in Parliament, aided by an enlightened opinion, formed or strengthened by numerous Anti-slavery Societies, prevailed, and in this instance, at the close of a ten years' peaceful campaign. In this happy result we must indeed trace not only the efforts of the wise, the good, and the great, and especially of the Christian portion of the community throughout the land, but that blessing which can alone prosper the best endeavours of man. The remnant of slavery—the apprenticeship—against which the friends of the slave had always protested—had also, in like manner, been abolished, and this two years before the time originally fixed by the law for the freedom of the great bulk of the slave population. For such results ought we not to thank God and take courage, especially when we reflect that this example can scarcely fail to exercise a powerful influence on foreign slaveholding countries, and that Sweden, Denmark, and France, doubtless stimulated by the conduct of Great Britain, have already adopted measures for the abolition of slavery? The speaker desired that the people of Barbadoes, and of the other West India colonies, would use similar efforts for the universal abolition of slavery, to those which had been made for the abolition of the Anglo-African slave-trade and of British colonial slavery, and which were now making in Great Britain for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery throughout the world. Mr. Alexander then alluded to the large number of slaves annually transported from Africa to the Brazils, estimated at no less than 70,000 or 80,000—to the dreadful sufferings and mortality of the passage—and the wars, violence, and death incident to procuring this supply of slaves. He also noticed the vast number of human beings held in slavery, amounting to more than seven millions—three millions of whom were in the Southern portion of the North American Union. Among that immense population the knowledge of letters was interdicted, and the Bible was thus rendered to them a sealed book. In one state, Louisiana, a third offence of teaching a slave to read was punishable with death. Worse than the denial of letters to the slaves, in defiance of the command that those whom God hath joined man should not put asunder, the laws of slavery remorselessly allowed the husband to be separated from the wife, and the wife from her husband, never to meet again in this world, whilst children were similarly torn from the arms of their parents, to whom, by these cruel and iniquitous laws, they did not belong. Such a state of things was alike repugnant to every principle of humanity, of justice, and of religion. The speaker finally appealed to the meeting to assist the Barbadoes Anti-slavery Society; he also earnestly entreated the friends of the slave and the emancipated population to co-operate in every means that could be devised for promoting the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the population of Barbadoes. By these conjoined means—by the manifestation of their deep interest in the abolition of slavery, and by the proof which they should afford that the emancipated slave was in all respects immensely benefited by the freedom he enjoyed, Barbadoes and the other British colonies in these regions might greatly promote those objects for which the meeting was assembled. Mr. Alexander moved the first resolution as follows:—

“That this meeting regards slavery and the slave-trade as among the greatest evils that afflict humanity, and as utterly repugnant to the just and merciful precepts of the Christian religion; and inconsistent with the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of mankind.”

Anthony Barclay, Esq., seconded the resolution. He said he was quite sure he spoke the sentiments of that large and industrious class of the community to which he belonged, when he said that they were fully

impressed with the great merits of the Anti-slavery Society, and were more grateful to them than mere words could show, for the generous solicitude which that Society had manifested for the descendants of Africa, as evidenced in their heroic efforts—finally crowned with success—to put down the slave-trade so far as Great Britain was concerned, and their equally illustrious perseverance in putting down for ever the institution of slavery in these colonies. (Tremendous applause.) He (Mr. Barclay) appreciated the pain which the worthy philanthropist who had preceded him had expressed, at the continuance of slavery in some parts of the world, and the zeal with which the slave-trade was still prosecuted by a few countries. He confessed, however, he differed from those who thought that the abolition of slavery must precede the putting down of the slave-trade. To his view, before proprietors of slaves in slave countries would find it to their interest to ameliorate the condition of the slave—before they discovered in the slave the least traces of man—that trade which enabled them to recruit the number of their slaves as fast as they died off, must be put down. (Hear, hear.) The facts in the possession of the civilized world, or, at all events, that portion of it which had taken an interest in the slave-trade question, must convince every one who bestowed due attention on the subject, that if petty kings and others on the coast of Africa did not derive certain benefits, disproportioned though they undoubtedly were to the sacrifice of human life and other atrocities incident to the traffic—the Brazilians and others, of themselves, with the people of Africa hostile to the traffic, could not prosecute it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The Europeans who trafficked in slaves were civilized, and were able on account of that very civilization to sail out to Africa for their human cargo, and hence were a thousand times more criminal than those natives on the coast of Africa who were the agents of the unhallowed work. If they would effectually put down the slave-trade, let the Anti-slavery Society employ their great influence in taking measures for teaching the unfortunate people of Africa to turn their territory to better account than making it a vast arena for strife and carnage, and their strong limbs more beneficially to employ than in selling each other to the cruel slave owner. (Loud applause.) Mr. Barclay concluded by seconding the resolution, which was put from the chair and adopted.

W. H. Austin, Esq., briefly moved the second resolution.

John Candler, Esq., regretted that he was unable to address the large audience then assembled in a manner worthy of the cause which had brought them together, but he had long deeply felt its importance, and desired its success. He was not too young to remember the passing of that righteous act of the British Legislature which abolished the slave-trade in all the dependencies of Great Britain, and from that moment to the present time he had cherished an earnest desire that the good work then begun might be followed by other nations, and that slavery itself might speedily cease from the earth. Often had his prayers been offered up to Him who rules in the heavens, that the arm of the oppressor might be broken, and that the oppressed might go free. It was but little, very little, that an obscure individual like himself could do to help forward so mighty a work, but the combination of many persons together, all actuated by the same spirit, in favour of a good and great object, could often effect much. It was this combination of Christian individuals in the mother country that had succeeded, under the Divine blessing, in accomplishing the overthrow of slavery in the British colonies. The Central Society in London was strengthened and encouraged by Auxiliary Societies in all parts of the land; the movement became general, and the Government of the day, attacked from all quarters, was compelled to consider the question, notwithstanding the strength of the West Indian interest in Parliament, which was then an opposing interest. A great battle against slavery still remained to be fought, and all our forces were needed on the ground. On this account, therefore, knowing the moral influence exercised over slaveholding countries by the combination of anti-slavery individuals into a Society, and of kindred Societies acting together under one central head, he and his friend Mr. Alexander entreated Barbadoes to form an auxiliary and enter the ranks. It was surprising to observe the effect produced on the slaveholding States of the American Union from the exertions made in England to expose the impolicy and enormities of slavery. Sooner or later (and he believed the day would be not long delayed) slavery itself would fall in that land. The Americans were jealous of the least interference on the part of England with their cherished institution, but, willing or unwilling, they cannot help hearing what we have to say. Two or three years ago, in one of the Southern States, an American citizen was found guilty of the sad crime of helping a fellow American to escape out of slavery, and was sentenced by the Chief-Judge of the State to be hanged for the offence. The sentence was passed with much seeming solemnity, under the plea that religion both imposed and sanctioned it. Three months were allowed to the prisoner to prepare for death! Lord Denman, the Chief-Justice of England, stood up in his place in the House of Lords, and knowing that his words would be heard in America, implored the Judge of that country, who had passed the iniquitous sentence, to reconsider what he had done, and to avert the awful catastrophe. Lord Brougham re-echoed the humane sentiment of Lord Denman. The news of what had been said in Parliament soon reached the United States; a burst of shame suffused the cheek of Americans; the poor Judge endeavoured, by a public apology, in which he threw the blame on the law, to back out of the sad affair; the prisoner was soon set at liberty, and the drama ended. If public opinion was powerful in England against slavery as now practised in other countries, it would be still more powerful in its effects and influence when supported by Barbadoes and the other West India colonies. Let Barbadoes do its duty. The speaker, looking to the gentlemen who sat on the platform, said he observed many around him who were younger than he was; his thatch, he said, had been blown off a long time, and grey hairs were sprinkling his head, but others sitting near him were young and strong, and they should endeavour to give that strength and youth to every good work. There was no time for any to be idle, who wished, when they should be called to die, to leave the world a little better than they found it. Death would soon snatch the strongest of us. It was well observed by the poet—

“Art is long, and time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.”

Let all, then, both old and young, work while time was afforded them.

We had the experience, he said, of recent days to prove how efficacious were right principles when suitably upheld and enforced. So upheld and enforced, they had proved fatal to the continuance of slavery in the British colonies, and continuing to be so applied, they would prove fatal to it elsewhere. England had endeavoured to put a stop to the slave-trade by employing an extensive squadron on the coasts of Africa; but what had its warlike efforts accomplished? Beaten at one point, the slave-trade shifted to another, and it was now as rife and cruel as ever. The only way to put down the slave-trade was to abolish slavery. The only means used by the Anti-slavery Society were of a moral nature; its advocates relied on moral persuasion alone; they held by it as their sheet-anchor, trusting that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, their efforts to expose wrong, and punish and proclaim what is just and true, would meet with the response of nations. He heartily wished to see the English squadron withdrawn from the coasts of Africa: the nation might save nearly a million sterling per annum by its abandonment; he would ten times rather see a portion of that million devoted to the improvement of Barbadoes and other colonies, than used, as it now is, in a manner, he feared, worse than useless. He could not defend the inconsistency of the British Government in endeavouring by this or any other means to put down the slave-trade, and at the same time allowing slave-grown sugar to come into the British market to beat down the price of sugar honestly obtained by the labour of free men. A large meeting had been lately held in Bridge Town to petition against this wrong, at which Bishop Parry presided. Had his friend and himself been in Barbadoes at that time, they would have gladly made common cause with the planters and inhabitants in the petition which was then adopted. To admit the produce of Cuba and Brazil to the British market was to stimulate man-stealing, and as such they had opposed the project. Mr. Candler could not enter, as his friend had ably done, into a history of the anti-slavery movement: he could do little more than express his continued sympathy for those who were in bondage. They intended, as his friend had stated, when their visit to the West Indies were accomplished, to pass through the United States, and he thought it not too much to ask of such a colony as Barbadoes to afford them help by the way, and to strengthen their hands in the good cause. This they would certainly do, if they agreed to the resolution submitted by the gentleman who had last addressed them, and which resolution he now seconded.

The resolution was put to the meeting and adopted. It is as follows:—

"2nd.—That this meeting cordially approves of the principles of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and deeply sympathises in its objects, and that an Auxiliary to the Society be now formed, the Committee to consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number:—Rev. J. Titterton, Dr. W. J. King, John Inniss, Thomas Jones, W. H. Austin, Joseph Thorne, Israel Bowen, J. Y. Edghill, Joseph Hamilton, London Bourne, W. Morris."

On the motion of J. Y. Edghill, Esq., Dr. King left the chair, and the Rev. Mr. Titterton was called thereto.

Joseph Hamilton, Esq., then moved the following resolution, which was seconded by John Inniss, Esq., supported by Mr. Edghill, and carried with applause—

"3rd.—That the thanks of this meeting are due and are hereby presented to Dr. Wm. J. King, for presiding on the present occasion, and that whilst we acknowledge the past services of the 'British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,' in the cause of emancipation, we would earnestly pray for the success of the present deputation in their progress through these colonies, and their safe return to their native land."

Mr. Alexander again came forward and said, in allusion to the remarks that had fallen from Mr. Barclay, in seconding the first resolution, that it was scarcely necessary for him to say, that the Anti-slavery Society felt the deepest interest in the civilisation of Africa; but, besides that they had not the pecuniary means which would be necessary for carrying out the great enterprise Mr. Barclay had referred to, he (Mr. Alexander) strictly adhered to the opinion, that the most effectual mode of putting down the slave-trade was by directing their combined energies to the extirpating of slavery wherever it existed—root and branch. (Much applause.) This was, however, a matter of opinion, and whatever their differences respecting it, they were all agreed that both slavery and the slave-trade were great evils, which they were all bound by every feeling of humanity and every obligation of Christianity to root out and destroy. (Loud and long-continued applause.)

The meeting then separated.

LECTURE ON AMERICAN SLAVERY BY PROFESSOR MAHAN, OF THE UNITED STATES.

A numerous audience assembled on Wednesday, the 23rd of January last, in the large lecture room of Surrey Chapel, to hear this eminent gentleman lecture on the above subject. He was listened to with great attention, and appeared to make a strong impression on the minds of his hearers. The following is the spirit of his observations. He commenced by saying:—

"To enable you to form some conception of slavery as it is, and to impart to your minds some understanding of the relation of the American people and Government to this institution, I will remark that since I came into this kingdom I heard a countryman of my own affirm, in the presence of a British audience, that the English labourer is not in a better condition than the American slave—a sentiment I have sometimes heard uttered in my own country. When I hear that sentiment uttered, I hardly know how to express or to suppress my feelings. You will permit me, then, in attempting to elucidate the nature and tendencies of slavery, to speak of it relatively to this idea—the position of the American slavery as compared, or rather as contrasted, with the condition of the

mass of English labourers. I affirm that, instead of it being true that the English labourer is in a worse condition than the American slave, the English labourer is not in a condition so hopeless as is the white free labourer in our southern or slave States. It should be understood that we have sixteen slave States in the Union, and that in all those States there are but about 250,000 or 300,000 slaveholders; the mass of the population being non-slaveholders. Of course, the large majority of the white population are reduced to the necessity of gaining a livelihood by their own labour; and it is this class to which I would direct attention, when I say that their condition is worse than that of the English labourer—and especially in the old slave States, such as Virginia, and North and South Carolina. I observe, first, that this entire class of the community are almost wholly cut off from all the benefits resulting from the mechanical employments. You will never, scarcely, find a free white man in a mechanic's shop. Such a thing hardly exists; and the reason for it is obvious,—such is the idea of degradation attached to slavery and the condition of the slave, that a free parent on no account will suffer his child to labour in the same shop with a slave; and in all departments of mechanical labour throughout the slave States, slaves are employed. What must be the condition of a class necessitated to gain a livelihood from one source—that of tilling the soil—cut off from all the benefits resulting from the mechanical arts? Just before I left the United States, I heard a gentleman, born and educated in South Carolina, and a distinguished lawyer, speak on the subject. He said that when he was there, himself and a few other individuals organised a society for the purpose of benefiting the poor white labourers of that district. They went to the most degraded beings in that class they could find, living under circumstances of the most abject poverty conceivable. They told them of the benefits that would result, if they would permit their sons to be apprenticed in the mechanics' workshops around them. The universal response they received was, 'We would rather our sons should starve than labour with slaves.' Then, again, throughout the slave States—the old States especially—there are no spheres of activity for the daughters of the poor, beyond the circle of home. Now, to elucidate this, I will simply state a fact which I myself learnt when I was in Carolina, in the winter of 1827–8. I found in that State one of the most interesting orphan asylums that I ever saw. The children were being educated in all the comforts of life. I was told that for the boys educated there, important spheres of activity were found, but the condition of the girls was hopeless. There is no sphere of activity in those States for women. They can hardly gain a livelihood by those vices which constitute the deepest degradation of woman. Here is a parent with a rising family—daughters healthy, able to gain their own livelihood; but, beyond the circle of home, impoverished as it is, there is no sphere into which they can be introduced. What must be the condition of the widow, the orphan, and the destitute, in a community circumstanced thus? There is another important circumstance in the condition of the free white labourer of these slave States—not only is he compelled to draw his subsistence exclusively from the soil, but he is compelled to occupy the poorest spots he can find. A free white man cannot cultivate a farm by the side of a wealthy planter; all that he raises would be plundered by the slaves. He must leave the goodly soil to be cultivated by the planter's slaves, and retire to the poorest spots he can find. Then, if we refer to visible examples of squalid poverty which present themselves to the eye, I affirm that London itself does not present the scenes of suffering that I myself witnessed in Charleston, South Carolina. I don't say there are not instances of as deep degradation here as there; but this I affirm—that the proportion is not so great. I never in my life set my eyes on such a population as that; and I do not believe the wide world can produce its equal, apart from the existence of slavery. And this leads me to make another important remark—that the ignorance of the labouring classes in England cannot exceed, and, in my judgment, does not equal, that of the free white labourers in the slave States. If you visit our country, and pass through the length and breadth of the northern States, you will find one aspect of the country that we delight to point the eye of the stranger to. Among the best specimens of architecture that you will witness are our school-houses, where the children of rich and poor are educated together, and God is the preserver of them all. As you traverse these States, you cannot find a neighbourhood without its school-house, where the children of all classes are educated free, in the best forms of instruction you can well conceive, and under the best teachers attainable; but you may traverse the length and breadth of the southern States, and I doubt whether you can find such a thing as a school-house. I have travelled myself over a large portion of North and South Carolina, into Georgia, Virginia, and Maryland, and I never saw such a thing as a common school-house—never heard of such a thing. The rich employ teachers for themselves, and their children are educated by themselves, either in academies or at home; but the poor—that is, the masses of the population—are left uncared for. I have been informed by a minister, formerly located in North Carolina, that in his neighbourhood were many families deemed wealthy—worth, say, from ten to fifteen thousand dollars—whose daughters, grown up to a marriageable age, could neither read nor write. What, then, must be the mental

condition of the masses—the poor, without any public provision for the education of the young? I might also refer, in elucidation of this part of the subject, to the intellectual development of the ministry in these communities. Here, again, we must distinguish between the slaveholders and the masses of the population; for each has its own ministry. You will find the ministry of the former, in many cases, very intelligent; but I found, in the North Carolina Association, no less than sixty churches with whom this was the condition of membership and communion—total abstinence from all connexion with anything like Tract, Bible, or Missionary Societies. I should expose individuals of my own country, if I should descend into details, and therefore forbear; though, when I converse in private on these subjects, I am accustomed to give specific facts. I notice but one other circumstance pertaining to the condition of the labouring classes in the southern States. The influences which operate most disastrously in the formation of character, operate to an extent unknown among the labouring classes of England, and render the condition of the former incomparably worse than that of the latter. In order to form some conception of the moral state of a community, you may refer to that of the leading minds of the community. Now, those of you who understand the operation of our Government, and are accustomed to read reports of its proceedings, know that scarcely a meeting of Congress passes without an attempt, at least, at deadly conflict on the floor of the House. Was ever a northern member known to engage in such a conflict? Never, that I ever heard of. It is always members from the south. They cannot endure contradiction: whatever occurs that even looks like insult, draws forth the pistol or the bowie-knife. I will relate to you a fact:—A gentleman in South Carolina, an eminent physician, and leading elder of the Presbyterian church, the most influential man, with one exception, in the district, told me he came there a young man; and as he rose in his profession, an older physician, whose jealousy was excited, contrived to quarrel with him, and threatened to cow-hide him,—the most degrading punishment that can be inflicted on a man. ‘When I heard that,’ he told me, ‘I armed myself with a pistol; and if he had lifted his finger to touch me, I would have taken his life.’ There was no public sentiment that would have condemned him for it—no church discipline that would have called him to account. Some years ago, a minister of another denomination was accused of improper conduct in a planter’s family,—the planter met, and attempted to beat him; the minister knocked him down, and when he attempted to rise, prostrated him again. The brother of the planter advanced with a pistol, and ordered him to stand and be cow-hided, or he would shoot him. The minister was compelled to submit, but he afterwards challenged the planter to combat; he refused, and the minister waylaid him for the purpose of assassination. The matter was taken up by the ecclesiastical body with which that minister was connected, and he was put on his trial before them. He pleaded guilty to all but the abuse in the planter’s family; and the decision of the Conference was, that after he had received the cow-hiding he was no longer a moral agent, was not accountable for what he did, and was, therefore, to receive no ecclesiastical censure; but, as it was desirable the character of the ministry should be pure, he was suspended for one year—and he is now in regular, full standing as a minister. If such be the moral condition of the leading minds of the ministry, what must be that of the masses? When in Carolina, I stopped, one night, at an inn, at which was also stopping an individual from Tennessee; and he and the landlord were entertaining each other with relations of the bloody fights they had witnessed or engaged in—parties of half-a-dozen a side fighting till death ensued. The people are accustomed to hold a meeting of what is called “a district”—a division of the State—the first Monday in every month—a kind of general market; and seldom does that day pass off without more or less being killed in their combats, each man being armed with a large knife, which, opening with a spring, forms a dagger, which he draws when he finds himself getting worsted in the fight. In the very district which has produced one of the most celebrated men of the south—for many years member of Congress and governor of the State of South Carolina—there was a trial for murder; the man was acquitted, on the direction of the judge, for want of evidence. ‘Now,’ said the populace, ‘that you have done with him, we’ll take him in hand,’—and they hung him on a tree. That was the end of the matter. None of them, that I ever heard, were called to account for it. Under the circumstances I have now spread out before you, let me again ask, Is the condition of the labouring population of Great Britain as degraded, as intolerable, and as hopeless as that of the masses in the old slave States of the United States of America? I now come to speak of the condition of the slave. Travelling in this country, the great fact meets you everywhere, that your labouring classes are under the protection of law. Now, the slave is totally without the protection of law in all the southern States, so far as the dearest interests and most sacred rights of humanity are concerned—with the exception of life; that, alone, the master may not take away. But even that protection is virtually unavailing. When murder has been committed by the master upon the slave, under the most atrocious circumstances, the power of public sentiment has been such as to prevent the infliction of the penalty prescribed by law.

[Several instances of this kind, as well as of the barbarity to which the slaves are frequently subject, were here related by the lecturer; but as this portion of his address presents less of novelty than any other, we omit their narration, from regard to our limited space.] I have never known or heard of a single execution of a white man for the murder of a slave. Public sentiment has always risen up and said, ‘Punish the master, and the slave will feel that he has rights!’ and it is this consciousness of human rights which is sought, uniformly and consistently, to be extinguished in the breast of the coloured population. Husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, are torn asunder unrelentingly—the strongest and tenderest ties of our nature rent in twain—twenty or thirty thousand families are thus annually sundered in the south. The slave has no existence in the eye of the law, but as property. He cannot enter a complaint against any white man—his testimony is never received. If a white man committed an act of violence upon a coloured man, though free, be it in his own house, or in the public streets, he could have no redress if the act were only witnessed by those of his own colour. The evidence of a white man would be necessary to substantiate the charge. And even a white man seldom dare interfere between a master and his slaves, for fear of the pistol and the bowie-knife; he has no business to concern himself with his neighbour’s property. Next notice, in regard to the condition of the slave, the state of mental wretchedness consequent upon this extinction of all his rights. Who does not long to have something that he may call his own? But the slave is altogether incapable of holding property—he is himself a chattel personal. All the demands of his nature are crucified. Do you wonder, then, at such a case as this? A friend of mine in the free States attended a Sabbath school of free-coloured people. He observed an aged woman there, who, he heard, was a very diligent pupil in the first rudiments of education, and listened attentively to all the exhibitions of truth. He learnt, that in her old age she had had her liberty given her, being of no further use, and she came into the free States, anxious to develop her aged mind. He entered into conversation with her as to her experience of slavery, and finally asked her how she would like to return to slavery? She looked at him as if her heart would break; but he resolved on ascertaining her real feelings, pressed her to say whether she would not prefer the comparative comforts of her former condition as a domestic slave. ‘Oh, Sir,’ she said, ‘give me but bread and water, but give me liberty! Let me at least be able to say before I die, that I was something—that I am myself!’ Then there is another important circumstance in the condition of the slave. He is cut off from all means and opportunities of mental development. Go, for instance, into New Orleans, offer a tract or Bible to any coloured man, and you are subject, for the first offence, to a fine of 500 dollars (£100), and for the second, to imprisonment. It is not even allowed to the master to instruct his slaves. Even he who, in other respects, may do with them what he will, and the law will protect and sanction him; it will not permit even him to put into their hands the key to the treasures of knowledge—at least in the Carolinas and Louisiana. And lastly, I would mention, in respect to the slave, that character is of no value to him; it does not recommend him, beyond his ability to use his limbs and fingers for his master’s use. It was even boasted by a southern representative in Congress that the moral condition of the female slaves was such as to prevent licentiousness, since they had no character either to gain or lose—chastity in them being regarded as no virtue, and its opposite as no disgrace. Under these accumulated circumstances of degradation and wretchedness, I ask you once more what you think of the head and heart of the individual who affirms that the condition of the American slave is not worse than that of the British labourer? I will now proceed to make a few remarks as to the relation of the Government of the United States to slavery. First, the Government has the power—as all, with few exceptions, acknowledge—to emancipate the slaves in the district of Columbia (the capital of the nation), a territory about ten miles square, in which the worst forms of slavery exist; and, secondly, it has the power to prevent its introduction into new territories; and, thirdly, it has power to forbid the slave-trade in any waters over which it has jurisdiction; and it might adopt, as a principle, that all future legislation shall be in favour of freedom, not of slavery. All this our Government can do. Judge, then, how I felt when at Paris, last summer, I heard an American minister declare that the American Government had no responsibility in connexion with American slavery. But another important topic is, the relation of the church in the United States to slavery. There are whole denominations that have always stood entirely free from all connexion with slavery—the Free-will Baptists, the Quakers, and the body with which I am myself connected. In all the great denominations there are also many ministers, and churches, and individuals, doing all they can to bring up their respective ecclesiastical bodies to that stand. There is a great movement in progress throughout the northern States for separation from all pro-slavery organisation. A call has just been issued for a meeting in a central city of churches and ministers, to consult upon the matter. But the churches, to a great degree, take this one attitude,—that of neutrality. The Presbyterian church has recently been split into two great parties,—the old and new schools. The former, holding

the highest form of Calvinism, openly justify slavery; the latter, of more liberal theological opinions, are strongly anti-slavery. In an Assembly of the old school, a petition came up that they would take right ground as to communion with slaveholders; and the report adopted on that subject was—that slavery was a moral and political evil, but that the Assembly had no evidence to show that the brethren in the south were not doing all that their duty required of them in that matter!—that is, the Assembly affirmed, that duty required them to do nothing. These organisations, however, must do something, or they will be ruined. As to the position of the anti-slavery question, I would say, it is the great question in Church and State. Less than twenty years ago, it could not be discussed without provoking violence; now, law and right have universally triumphed, in this respect, throughout the northern States. No man can be returned to Congress by either of the two great parties—Whig and Democratic—without pledging himself to the anti-slavery cause. We have fourteen representatives and two leading senators in Congress returned by the Free-soil party—the political form which the movement now takes. There is another party represented by the *Liberator* newspaper, and which has too much identified itself, to the public mind in England, with the abolition movement—which seems to seek the destruction of slavery only by the destruction of all Government—a party that is the enemy of the Church, of the Bible, of religion. But such hold has the question taken, that one of our leading ministers declared to a great congregation in New York, on his return from the Evangelical Alliance, that the question was pushed before him at every step; that no organisation, religious, philanthropic, or political, could be got up, but this obtruded itself, and denounced irresistibly some kind of action. A year ago, I was at a convention in Buffalo, State of New York, at which there were from 50,000 to 75,000 assembled; the railway cars that brought the New England delegates alone extending two miles. When the Declaration of Rights was read, it was borne up to heaven by the shout of that vast multitude, as with the voice of many waters, the sound of mighty thunders. When the electric wires carried the intelligence of that, there were but three northern members who dared to vote on the pro-slavery side; and Mr. Calhoun, the great pro-slavery statesman, returned to Carolina, and told his friends there, they must expect the triumph of the anti-slavery cause by 1852. Now, I have but a few more words to say, and they respect the conduct of English ministers, and other visitors to our country, on the slavery question. Invited to the largest chapels in our cities—which would be closed against them if they spoke out on the question—they are usually silent. I will name one honourable exception—Dr. Jabez Burns. We ask of those who come, not to speak for us abolitionists, but just to utter English sentiment in the matter—with that we will be quite content!

MR. CARLYLE AND THE NEGRO QUESTION.

To the Editor of Fraser's Magazine.

Sir,—Your last month's number contains a speech against the "rights of negroes," the doctrines and spirit of which ought not to pass without remonstrance. The author issues his opinions, or rather ordinances, under imposing auspices; no less than those of the "immortal gods." "The Powers," "the Destinies," announce through him, not only what *will* be, but what *shall* be done; what they "have decided upon, passed their eternal act of parliament for." This is speaking "as one having authority;" but authority from whom? If by the quality of the message we may judge of those who sent it, *not* from any powers to whom just or good men acknowledge allegiance. This so-called "eternal act of parliament" is no new law, but the old law of the strongest,—a law against which the great teachers of mankind have in all ages protested:—it is the law of force and cunning; the law that whoever is more powerful than another, is "born lord" of that other, the other being born his "servant," who must be "compelled to work" for him by "beneficent whip," if "other methods avail not." I see nothing divine in this injunction. If "the gods" will this, it is the first duty of human beings to resist such gods. Omnipotent these "gods" are *not*, for powers which demand *human* tyranny and injustice cannot accomplish their purpose unless human beings co-operate. The history of human improvement is the record of a struggle by which inch after inch of ground has been wrung from these maleficent powers, and more and more of human life rescued from the iniquitous dominion of the law of might. Much, very much of this work still remains to do; but the progress made in it is the best and greatest achievement yet performed by mankind, and it was hardly to be expected at this period of the world that we should be enjoined, by way of a great reform in human affairs, to begin *undoing* it.

The age, it appears, is ill with a most pernicious disease, which infects all its proceedings, and of which the conduct of this country in regard to the negroes is a prominent symptom—the Disease of Philanthropy. "Sunk in deep froth-oceans of Benevolence, Fraternity, Emancipation-principle, Christian Philanthropy, and other most amiable-looking, but most baseless, and, in the end, baleful and all-bewildering jargon," the product of "hearts left destitute of any earnest guidance, and disbelieving

that there ever was any, Christian or heathen," the "human species" is "reduced to believe in rose-pink sentimentalism alone." On this alleged condition of the human species I shall have something to say presently. But I must first set my anti-philanthropic opponent right on a matter of fact. He entirely misunderstands the great national revolt of the conscience of this country against slavery and the slave-trade, if he supposes it to have been an affair of sentiment. It depended no more on humane feelings than any cause which so irresistibly appealed to them must necessarily do. Its first victories were gained while the lash yet ruled uncontested in the barrack-yard and the rod in schools, and while men were still hanged by dozens for stealing to the value of forty shillings. It triumphed because it was the cause of justice, and, in the estimation of the great majority of its supporters, of religion. Its originators and leaders were persons of a stern sense of moral obligation, who, in the spirit of the religion of their time, seldom spoke much of benevolence and philanthropy, but often of duty, crime, and sin. For nearly two centuries had negroes, many thousands annually, been seized by force or treachery, and carried off to the West Indies to be worked to death, literally to death; for it was the received maxim, the acknowledged dictate of good economy, to wear them out quickly and import more. In this fact every other possible cruelty, tyranny, and wanton oppression was by implication included. And the motive on the part of the slave owners was the love of gold; or, to speak more truly, of vulgar and puerile ostentation. I have yet to learn that anything more detestable than this has been done by human beings towards human beings in any part of the earth. It is a mockery to talk of comparing it with Ireland. And this went on, not, like Irish beggary, because England had not the skill to prevent it,—not merely by the sufferance, but by the laws of the English nation. At last, however, there were found men, in growing number, who determined not to rest until the iniquity was extirpated; who made the destruction of it as much the business and end of their lives, as ordinary men make their private interests; who would not be content with softening its hideous features, and making it less intolerable to the sight, but would stop at nothing short of its utter and irrevocable extinction. I am so far from seeing anything contemptible in this resolution, that, in my sober opinion, the persons who formed and executed it deserve to be numbered among those, not numerous in any age, who have led noble lives according to their lights, and laid on mankind a debt of permanent gratitude.

After fifty years of toil and sacrifice, the object was accomplished, and the negroes, freed from the despotism of their fellow-beings, were left to themselves, and to the chances which the arrangements of existing society provide for those who have no resource but their labour. These chances proved favourable to them, and, for the last ten years, they afford the unusual spectacle of a labouring class whose labour bears so high a price that they can exist in comfort on the wages of a comparatively small quantity of work. This, to the ex-slave-owners, is an inconvenience; but I have not yet heard that any of them has been reduced to beg his bread, or even to dig for it, as the negro, however scandalously he enjoys himself, still must: a carriage or some other luxury the less, is in most cases, I believe, the limit of their privations—no very hard measure of retributive justice; those who have had tyrannical power taken away from them, may think themselves fortunate if they come so well off; at all events, it is an embarrassment out of which the nation is not called on to help them; if they cannot continue to realize their large incomes without more labourers, let them find them, and bring them from where they can best be procured, only not by force. Not so thinks your anti-philanthropic contributor. That negroes should exist and enjoy existence, on so little work, is a scandal in his eyes, worse than their former slavery. It must be put a stop to at any price. He does not "wish to see" them slaves again "if it can be avoided;" but "decidedly" they "will have to be servants," "servants to the whites," "compelled to labour," and "not to go idle another minute." "Black Quashee," "up to the ears in pumpkins," and "working about half-an-hour a day," is to him the abomination of abominations. I have so serious a quarrel with him about principles, that I have no time to spare for his facts; but let me remark, how easily he takes for granted those which fit his case. Because he reads in some blue-book of a strike for wages in Demerara, such as he may read of any day in Manchester, he draws a picture of negro inactivity, copied from the wildest prophecies of the slavery party before emancipation. If the negroes worked no more than "half-an-hour a day," would the sugar crops, in all except notoriously bad seasons, be so considerable, so little diminished from what they were in the time of slavery, as is proved by the Custom-house returns? But it is not the facts of the question, so much as the moralities of it, that I care to dispute with your contributor.

A black man working no more than your contributor affirms that they work, is, he says, "an eye-sorrow," a "blister on the skin of the State," and many other things equally disagreeable; to *work* being the grand duty of man. "To do competent work, to labour honestly according to the ability given them; for that, and for no other purpose, was each one of us sent into this world." Whoever prevents him from this his "sacred appointment to labour while he lives on earth" is "his deadliest enemy." If it be "his own indolence" that prevents him, "the first

right he has" is that all wiser and more industrious persons shall, "by some wise means, compel him to do the work he is fit for." Why not at once say that, by "some wise means," everything should be made right in the world? While we are about it, wisdom may as well be suggested as the remedy for all evils, as for one only. Your contributor incessantly prays Heaven that all persons, black and white, may be put in possession of this "divine right of being compelled, if permitted will not serve, to do what work they are appointed for." But as this cannot be conveniently managed just yet, he will begin with the blacks, and will make them work for certain whites, those whites *not* working at all; that so "the eternal purpose and supreme will" may be fulfilled, and "injustice," which is "for ever accursed," may cease.

This pet theory of your contributor about work, we all know well enough, though some persons might not be prepared for so bold an application of it. Let me say a few words on this "gospel of work"—which, to my mind, as justly deserves the name of a cant as any of those which he has opposed, while the truth it contains is immeasurably farther from being the whole truth than that contained in the words benevolence, fraternity, or any other of his catalogue of contemptibilities. To give it a rational meaning, it must first be known what he means by work. Does work mean everything which people *do*? No; or he would not reproach people with doing no work. Does it mean laborious exertion? No; for many a day spent in killing game, includes more muscular fatigue than a day's ploughing. Does it mean *useful* exertion? But your contributor always scoffs at the idea of utility. Does he mean that all persons ought to earn their living? But some earn their living by doing nothing, and some by doing mischief; and the negroes, whom he despises, still do earn by labour the "pumpkins" they consume and the finery they wear.

Work, I imagine, is not a good in itself. There is nothing laudable in work for work's sake. To work voluntarily for a worthy object is laudable; but what constitutes a worthy object? On this matter, the oracle of which your contributor is the prophet has never yet been prevailed on to declare itself. He revolves in an eternal circle round the idea of work, as if turning up the earth, or driving a shuttle or a quill, were ends in themselves, and the ends of human existence. Yet, even in the case of the most sublime service to humanity, it is not because it is work that it is worthy; the worth lies in the service itself, and in the will to render it—the noble feelings of which it is the fruit; and if the nobleness of will is proved by other evidence than work, as for instance by danger or sacrifice, there is the same worthiness. While we talk only of work, and not of its object, we are far from the root of the matter; or if it may be called the root, it is the root without flower or fruit.

In the present case, it seems, a noble object means "spices." "The gods wish, besides pumpkins, that spices and valuable products be grown in their West Indies"—the "noble elements of cinnamon, sugar, coffee, pepper black and grey," "things far nobler than pumpkins." Why so? Is what supports life inferior in dignity to what merely gratifies the sense of taste? Is it the verdict of the "immortal gods" that pepper is noble, freedom (even freedom from the lash) contemptible? But spices lead "towards commerces, arts, politics, and social developments." Perhaps so; but of what sort? When they must be produced by slaves, the "politics and social developments" they lead to are such as the world, I hope, will not choose to be cursed with much longer.

The worth of work does not surely consist in its leading to other work, and so on to work upon work without end. On the contrary, the multiplication of work, for purposes not worth caring about, is one of the evils of our present condition. When justice and reason shall be the rule of human affairs, one of the first things to which we may expect them to be applied is the question, How many of the so-called luxuries, conveniences, refinements and ornaments of life, are *worth* the labour which must be undergone as the condition of producing them? The beautifying of existence is as worthy and useful an object as the sustaining of it; but only a vitiated taste can see any such result in those fopperies of so-called civilisation, which myriads of hands are now occupied and lives wasted in providing. In opposition to the "gospel of work," I would assert the gospel of leisure, and maintain that human beings *cannot* rise to the finer attributes of their nature compatibly with a life filled with labour. I do not include under the name labour such work, if work it be called, as is done by writers and afforders of "guidance," an occupation which, let alone the vanity of the thing, cannot be called by the same name with the real labour, the exhausting, stiffening, stupefying toil of many kinds of agricultural and manufacturing labourers. To reduce very greatly the quantity of work required to carry on existence, is as needful as to distribute it more equally; and the progress of science, and the increasing ascendancy of justice and good sense, tend to this result.

(To be concluded in our next.)

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES. — PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS. — The President having been notified that Congress was organised and ready to proceed with the public business, the annual message of the chief

magistrate was presented. From it they can judge how well the President is entitled to the sympathy or confidence of the friends of freedom. In some respects it is quite non-committal, but upon the great question that agitates and divides the public mind it is explicit enough. No intelligent man can fail to understand it. The administration now stands clearly revealed to the people—pledged in favour of non-intervention, and against the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the new territories. Congress is cautioned against agitating the subject. The people are now told that the "action" of New Mexico and California must be "awaited," and that "*we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind.*"

The only portions of the American President's message which affect the anti-slavery cause are the following:—

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

"Your attention is earnestly invited to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave-trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic. It is not to be denied that this trade is still, in part, carried on by means of vessels built in the United States, and owned or navigated by some of our citizens. The correspondence between the department of State, and the minister and consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, which has, from time to time, been laid before Congress, represents that it is a customary device to evade the penalties of our laws by means of sea-letters. Vessels sold in Brazil, when provided with such papers by the consul, instead of returning to the United States for a new register, proceed at once to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining cargoes of slaves. Much additional information of the same character has recently been transmitted to the department of State. It has not been considered the policy of our laws to subject an American citizen, who, in a foreign country, purchases a vessel built in the United States, to the inconvenience of sending her home for a new register, before permitting her to proceed on a voyage. Any alteration of the laws which might have a tendency to impede the free transfer of property in vessels between our citizens, or the free navigation of those vessels between different parts of the world, when employed in lawful commerce, should be well and cautiously considered; but I trust that your wisdom will devise a method by which our general policy in this respect may be preserved, and, at the same time, the abuse of our flag by means of sea-letters in the manner indicated may be prevented."

CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO.

"No civil government having been provided by Congress for California, the people of that territory, impelled by the necessities of their political condition, recently met in convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution and State government, which, the latest advices give me reason to suppose, has been accomplished; and it is believed they will shortly apply for the admission of California into the Union as a sovereign State. Should such be the case, and should their constitution be conformable to the requisitions of the constitution of the United States, I recommend their application to the favourable consideration of Congress.

"The people of New Mexico will also, it is believed, at no very distant period, present themselves for admission into the Union. Preparatory to the admission of California and New Mexico, the people of each will have instituted for themselves a republican form of government, laying its foundation in such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"By awaiting their action, all causes of uneasiness may be avoided, and confidence and kindly feeling preserved. With a view of maintaining the harmony and tranquillity so dear to all, we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind; and I repeat the solemn warning of the first and most illustrious of my predecessors against furnishing 'any ground for characterising parties by geographical discriminations.'"

In the Senate the standing committees were appointed, and as usual, the South had the lion's share. The chairmen of all the committees are democrats, and it is not a little surprising to witness how the interests of the North have been sacrificed to the spirit of party, and the grasping eagerness of the Southern States. For instance, Mr. King, of Alabama, stands at the head of the committee on foreign relations; and Sebastian, of Arkansas, who cannot possibly have any practical knowledge of the subject, stands at the head of the committee on manufactures. Butler, from South Carolina, a State where such a thing as justice is hardly known, has the appointment of chief of the committee on the Judiciary; and Rush, of Texas, where people have less interest and less use for the mails than in any other State, is put as chairman of the committee on post office and post roads. The committee on the district of Columbia has a pro-slavery chairman, Mason, of Va., and two members from the South, and two from the North. The great *Free State* of New York is represented on but *one* Committee, while the little *Slave State* of Arkansas

is represented on *six*, South Carolina *three*, Mississippi *four*, Virginia *four*, Louisiana *four*.

A most interesting debate was had in the Senate, on the 20th, upon a resolution submitted by Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, that Father Mathew be allowed a seat within the bar of the Senate.

Clemens, of Alabama, opposed the resolution, because he had been informed that Father Mathew had been charged with denouncing slavery as a crime.

Clay, of Ky., expressed his regret that there should be any opposition to the vote, and made a pertinent speech in favour of the resolution, and was followed by Seward, of New York, in the same strain.

Davis, of Mississippi, opposed the resolution in a speech breathing the most vindictive and ungenerous sentiments, in which he represented Father Mathew as a "wolf in sheep's clothing," coming in disguise to disturb the domestic affairs of the South. A good many sharp things were said on both sides; the debate lasted through the day, an unusual number of the members participating therein. He was eventually admitted.

Mr. Foote gave notice of a bill to provide for the organisation of the territories of California, New Mexico, and Deseret,—their subsequent erection into States, and for other purposes. This bill provides for passing these several countries rapidly through the form of territorial governments before admitting them as States, and will no doubt give rise to an exciting debate upon the slavery question. Mr. Benton has thrown down the gauntlet in the Senate, and the bitterest feeling is manifested by the members of both chambers on the subject of slavery. Those from the South appear quite ready to precipitate the discussion, and many signify their intention of vacating their seats in case the Wilmot Proviso should be passed into a law. The State of Alabama has, in fact, instructed her representative to do so and return home, after which it is proposed to call a general convention of the slaveholding States to deliberate upon their secession from the Union.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—A committee of thirteen gentlemen in Cincinnati, most of whom are well known and highly esteemed clergymen of different denominations, have united in issuing a call for a convention of Christians, to consider upon the connexion of the American church with the sin of slaveholding—to meet at Cincinnati, on the third Wednesday of April next. The circular adduces several forcible considerations for the movement it proposes, and requests the co-operation of all persons, of every Christian denomination, in it. Among the committee we observe the names of Dr. Aydelott, Dr. Brisbane, Rev. Messrs. A. Benton, E. Goodman, and C. B. Boynton, Hon. S. B. Chase, and others.

MAURITIUS.—Papers have been received from this island to Oct. 25; they contain no news of much interest. Sir George Anderson appears to retain his popularity, and the colonists, as far as can be judged from their journals, have become tolerably contented and loyal. The *Mauritiam*, formerly the ablest and most resolute opponent of Sir William Gomm, and an advocate of republican, and even socialist principles, has now become a staunch supporter of the powers that be, and has gone to the other extreme in its political views. The editor declares that the first thing which the colonists should insist on is—"the cheap introduction of as many labourers as we can employ, at a cheap rate of wages, so as to reduce the cost of free labour as low as slave labour." Now, as the revenues of the island are chiefly derived from duties on imports, it is certain that a considerable portion of the taxation falls on the labouring classes; and the money thus abstracted from their small earnings is to be expended in introducing fresh labourers, in order to beat down their wages and reduce them, as regards the means of living, to the level of slaves. This plan of our ultra-democratic contemporary may be very good policy for the planters, but it does not seem to be in exact accordance with the principles of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." We doubt if the much-abused Sir William Gomm ever proposed anything so unjust.—*Cape Shipping Gazette*, Nov. 30.

THE FRENCH ISLANDS.—Martinique Journals to the 19th December have been received. They inform us of the arrival, per last packet, of Colonel Fiéron, to resume the government of Guadaloupe, from which he had been recalled some time back. We make the following extracts from his proclamation:—

Citizens,—I owe to the marks of sympathy which you showed me during my sojourn amongst you and when I left the colony, the proposition made in my favour by the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to the President of the Republic, to be called anew into the functions of Governor of Guadaloupe and its dependencies.

To this important work, you are aware, I yield my most absolute devotedness. I will call thereto, as I have before done, the co-operation of all those citizens who desire with me to aid in harmonising society and providing for all its requirements, and in conciliating the interests of property with those of the labourers—those who equally wish that the freedom of the newly emancipated should procure them the enjoyments and advantages belonging to liberty, a right which we ourselves desire, on the condition of living in order, by means of industry, and without ever failing in that respect which is due to family and to property.

Disorders the most grave and afflicting have occurred—resulting, on the one hand, from evil passions, and on the other, from an abuse of vested rights, exercised through ignorance of the dignity by which those rights ought to be regulated. These disorders have increased your sufferings, already too great, and still cause your tears to flow upon the losses you have sustained. Let us say, they shall no more be exhibited. We shall repulse the oppression of those mischievous men, whose aim it has been to deceive the newly emancipated into a belief that if they did not support their views and their projects, their liberty would be taken from them—as if that liberty were not consecrated by the whole of France, and by her President, who would never wish that it should be altered.

Be ye well convinced, cultivators and all citizens, that liberty and equality are inheritances which belong to our destiny. Bring yourselves to comprehend the extent of these rights and the duties which they involve; you will therein find protection to your labours, to your speculations, to your families, and to your status as citizens.

The following statement shows the quantity of produce exported from Martinique, from the 1st January to 1st December, 1849, and in 1848:—

Sugar	In 1849—11,506,931 lbs.....	In 1848—10,918,894 lbs.
Coffee	" — 127,698 lbs.....	" — 41,880 lbs.
Cocoa	" — 77,947 lbs.....	" — 82,531 lbs.
Logwood....	" — 108,406 lbs.....	" — 31,015 lbs.
Molasses....	" — 44,210 galls.....	" — 71,429 galls.
Rum	" — 251,700 galls.....	" — 156,313 galls.

BRAZIL.—The following account of the prospects of the Brazilian coffee-crop is from the circular of Messrs. Coleman, Hutton, and Co., dated Rio de Janeiro, the 1st and 13th of November:—

"We have been at some pains to obtain correct information, and are now convinced that the crop will not exceed 600,000 bags; about 200,000 have been shipped, 100,000 are now here for shipment and sale, and about 300,000 remain to come forward. About 250,000 bags of old coffee have been shipped since the 1st of July, and about 50,000 more may come forward before January. The new crop generally appears in April, and as there will be every reason for its being sent forward early, 150,000 to 200,000 bags may possibly be got to market prior to July, which would make the total export, from July 1, 1849, to July 1, 1850, 1,050,000 to 1,100,000 bags. The latter we think an extreme estimate. The deficiency, therefore, will be about 700,000 bags, compared with the crop of 1847, and 500,000 with the crop of 1848, or about 100 millions of pounds less than a fair average crop, which being nearly one-fifth of the whole production of the world, with a large and increasing consumption, must have a great influence on prices, until production is increased. The low prices for some years past have prevented any great increase in Brazil, and none of any importance can take place in less than three to four years, even should no stop be put to the introduction of slaves. Should, however, this take place shortly—as we confidently expect—the increase cannot be at all compared to the increase of consumption throughout the world. We therefore expect prices will rule considerably higher than they have for some years past, especially when it is considered that the growers have been so badly remunerated, that in many places they have abandoned its growth, while in all it has been a losing business. The total export in October was 115,097 bags, of which 69,730 went to the United States. In October, 1848, it was 182,263 bags, of which 90,303 went to the United States.

"The comparative export of coffee for ten months, 1848 and 1849, is as follows:—

	Bags.		Bags.
Europe, 1848	787,860	United States, 1848	593,911
" 1849	725,221	" 1849	491,910
	—		—
Decrease	62,639	Decrease	102,001
Total decrease in ten months, 164,640 bags.			

"The rate of exchange, notwithstanding the rise in coffee, has continued to advance, which, in the face of the diminished export of that article, appears, at first view, to be anomalous; but when the greatly increased value of coffee is considered, also that the amount of sales by the European houses the past year have been one-third less than previously, and that an extra quantity of money will be required for the sugar crop at the north, it is only what is to be expected, and it remains to be seen what will be the limit. Some think it will go to 30d. It has gradually advanced to 27½d. to 27¾d., but no amount can be placed in anticipation under 28d. In fact, large operations in exchange are more than usually difficult. "Specie has kept price with exchange.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The House of Assembly has passed a bill, for one year, giving the governor, Sir Charles Grey, a salary of £4,500, and, in the meantime, a memorial goes to England to the Queen, praying her to take this heavy expense—equal to £6,000 sterling (with fees)—from this distressed country; and as some of the Windward Island governors,

bishops, and commanders of forces, are paid from England, they request the same may be done to our governor. The bill expired, December 31, 1849, and a motion was made not to pass any more—but it was carried for one year—and to petition as stated above. Another bill is also brought in to raise a revenue by an additional duty on imports. This is to pay the interest on the island debt. I am sure the island is not in a position to bear one farthing more taxation. It is hoped that the bill will not pass. A petition is getting up against it, to be sent to the Council, should it pass the house. Another bill in the house is to be met with opposition; it is a bill for education. This bill is much wanted; but the way it has been got up will not give satisfaction. The dissenters are excluded from taking any part in it, and they are all up in arms against it. It gives the whole control to the church of England. It will not pass this way, for it is to be altered so as to meet the wishes of all classes, as it ought to be. A tax of 1½d. per acre on land, is the way the amount is to be raised. This will give about £25,000 sterling, per annum. The honourable member who brought in the bill was once a dissenter, but now a high churchman; but I fear he has lost his popularity by this act of his. The name of this member is Robert Osborn, a gentleman of colour. It is supposed that the bill was given to him by a few of the church of England officials, and he appears not to have read it before he brought it in. But the officials will be disappointed. It will not pass their way and fashion. The dissenters in the island are too strong for them.

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS—THEIR TREATMENT—Of the African immigrants we have heard no more since Mr. Lowndes, of Trelawney estate, was fined £20, and his overseer £10, with the addition of a month's imprisonment, for flogging the Africans, until last week, when a correspondent of the *Morning Journal* stated, that on one estate, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-east, he "met a gang of those poor miserable creatures, almost in a state of nudity, their only clothing being a piece of filthy rag around the loins; and they were followed by a driver with a cart-whip, exactly like one of those of olden time." "Report says," he adds, "their treatment is not anything like what it ought to be."—*Correspondent of the Nonconformist*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The following is from the *Colonist* of Nov. 28:—At length another stage in our legislative business has been reached—the session of the Combined Court for 1848 terminated to-day, and the ordinance passed for levying the usual taxes on the incomes received and the produce made in 1848, as also those on carriages, horses, &c., payable before the 31st December next. An ineffectual attempt was made to subject salaries on the Civil List to the operation of the Income Tax, but owing to there being only two financial representatives present, and Mr. Stuart's chair being unfilled, the official section succeeded in defeating this most equitable proposition. We were sorry to witness the Chief-Justice lending the weight of his high character and station to oppose so slight a portion of the public burdens being put on the shoulders of that class the best capable of sustaining it. It is the merest drivelling to contend, as some of the members contended, that because the Civil-list recipients have hitherto been untaxed, they should therefore continue to be exempted. To every rational mind such a long indulgence as those gentlemen have had, forms a strong ground for calling upon them, when evil times have overtaken the colony and impoverished every other class of the community, to contribute at least something to the public wants. Money is imperatively required—where is it to be sought? A is in the receipt of a handsome salary, B is a ruined planter, C a distressed merchant or trader—upon whom would any sensible, conscientious tax-assessor call for a contribution? Upon the wealthy man assuredly—upon him who can afford to pay without material injury to himself. Ah, but it is said, A never expected to be called upon, while B and C looked for it—"they were used to be skinned." Is that a solid argument to sustain an unpledged and uncalled-for exemption, or to justify heaping load upon load upon the unfortunate "pack-horses" who have heretofore unrepiningly borne the State burdens, but who now, staggering under exhaustion and decay, pray for relief and assistance? This unworthy opposition to a paltry deduction of one per cent., when the entire voice of the community sanctioned the attempt to reduce the salaries 25 per cent., is a fitting climax to the selfish and disgraceful Civil List contest—a contest in which, to save a score or two of pet officers being deprived of a few luxuries, the very means of living were withheld from a host of other public servants; and the best interests, nay, the social framework of the colony, recklessly put in peril. These men are infatuated in their selfishness. Their obstinate adherence to "a principle" (a principle, forsooth!) will only bring a more severe punishment upon themselves, when the illegal and absurd plea of "a compact" cannot avail them. They are making the very name of a Civil List "stink in the nostrils" of the people, and as "No concession! no conciliation!" is now their cry, so surely will the day come (1854 is looming on the horizon of futurity)

when "Cut down all salaries without mercy!" "Away with the blood suckers!" will resound throughout the colony, and not a voice will be heard in opposition to the cry of retribution.

TRINIDAD.—We gather the following interesting items from the summary of the *Trinidadian*.—"The weather has been variable since sailing of last packet. Sugar making, although not yet general, being proceeded with on a number of estates. By the beginning of the next month, weather permitting, every mill will be in motion. As far as we have learned, the cane-fields promise an abundant crop. We hear of no complaints as regards labour, which is somewhat wonderful, although it is well known that labour is superabundant, as it has been for years past. Commerce, in general, is by no means brisk for this season of the year, owing to a scarcity of money, and a consequent want of confidence. The labourers have now almost nothing to spare after supplying their absolute wants, and our trade depends on the rate at which labour is remunerated. In almost every department of business, competition is great, consequently profits are small. The planters are trembling in contemplation of the future, when slave sugars will be admitted into the British market, on a par with their free grown. Indeed, there is serious cause for alarm, unless the Government alter their policy and continue and increase the tax on slave sugar. We have seen, in the columns of our contemporary, the draft of a petition to the Queen on the subject. Parts of its prayer ought to command the attention of her gracious Majesty; but other parts of it are insulting to her and to the enlightened and liberal policy of her Government. The petitioners actually pray to be allowed to go to the coast of Africa, at the expense of the mother country, that they might kidnap and transport hither, the sable children of Ethiopia, to toil comparatively unrewarded in their cane-fields. The petitioners have actually the brazen-facedness to pray for, as a *dernier resort*, 'full and complete compensation,' for—it is not distinctly stated for what, but we presume it is for the loss of their slaves, and for the advantage which slaveholders in other countries have gained over them, in consequence of being compelled to pay for labour.

Miscellanea.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—RIO DE JANEIRO, October, 1849.—The *Hydra*, steam sloop, Commander G. Skipwith, sailed hence on the 11th instant, at 10 p.m., to cruise to the northward. On the 15th, at 10 30 a.m., between Manguinos and Puma, she sighted a brig at the distance of ten miles, running along the land in a north-easterly direction. She immediately chased, and the stranger altered her course to gain the land; the *Hydra* having cut off her retreat, and no possible means of escape being left to the brig, the latter ran on shore in a high surf. The *Hydra* then anchored about two miles off the brig, and sent her boats to board. She was found to be the *Imogene*, of about 200 tons, which had left Rio three months previously, and had on board about 550 slaves from Benguela. An hour elapsed before the *Hydra's* boats reached the brig, during which time the crew of the brig landed, and succeeded in taking with them about 150 slaves, nearly the whole having swam ashore, leaving, on the arrival of the boats, about 400 blacks, of which number 352 were taken on board the *Hydra*. It now getting dark, the sea increasing, and the weather threatening, Commander Skipwith recalled his boats, leaving still about 50 of the slaves, who were most likely landed next day. No papers were found on board. Several shots were fired from the *Hydra* to bring the brig to, but no notice was taken of them. On the *Hydra's* boats boarding, and until they left, the crew of the slaver, protected by a sand bank, kept up an irregular fire of musketry, wounding Mr. Crawford, the senior lieutenant of the *Hydra*, three of her crew, and one black, slightly. The slaves have since been put on board Her Majesty's ship *Crescent*, at this port, and are soon to be sent to Demerara, in charge of acting-lieutenant Heweson, and assistant-surgeon Patrick, of the *Hydra*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscription.
Tottenham.—Susanna Begg.....		1 0 0
Driffeld.—Executors of David Anderson, Esq.	50 0 0	
Banbury.—Ladies' Association	10 0 0	
Neath Abbey.—J. T. Price		5 0 0
Helston.—Anti-Slavery Society	1 11 8	
Exeter.—R. Hutcheson		1 10 0
Aberdeen.—Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	2 6 6	
Anthony Wigham		0 10 0
Bath.—A Friend		1 0 0
Gisborough.—Ann Coning		1 0 0
Basingstoke.—Sheppard Bell		2 0 0
Slough.—Ann Mary Bennett		0 10 0
Charles Bennett.....		0 10 0
Bradford.—David Smith		1 1 0
Cheltenham.—Frederick Monro		1 0 0
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